

A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power
which places all authority, wealth
and arms in the hands of the People"



A Publication of the December 12th Movement

May/June 1994 vol. 4, no. 5 50¢

BLACK POWER! THE STRUGGLE IS FOR LAND



Take Back the Streets!

Take Back the Hood!

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ARM THE MASSES

What we believe:

Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.

FREEDOM OR DEATH!

All correspondence:
ATM-28 Vesey Street, Suite 2298, NY, NY 10007, USA

No Justice!

legal news and analysis



CLINTON

Clinton/Nixon and The Passing of the Guard

by Raheem Williams

The historical myth is that 20th century Democrats are liberal, defenders of the downtrodden and disenfranchised, while Republicans are the conservative representatives of the rich. However, anyone who looks at history and current events from an objective perspective is clear that the so-called Democrat/Republican contention is a just another version of the "good guy/bad guy" tactic used by the police when they are trying to break down a prisoner's resistance. For Black people who shouted "hallelujah! We are free" when

public housing projects in Chicago, which have been the scene of constant gunfire and random killings, President Clinton said that there are occasions when the Constitution must be suspended. As an example, he cited the situation during wartime when rights such as the fourth amendment right to privacy must be put on hold. He went on to propose that residents of these areas of random gunfire agree to waive their 4th amendment right to freedom from illegal searches and seizures; that they allow themselves to be patted down for weapons searches; that metal detectors be set

To resurrect a Nixon, whose fascist sins are implicitly forgiven because they go unmentioned, sets the historical basis and framework that allows a Clinton to advocate that constitutional rights be suspended...

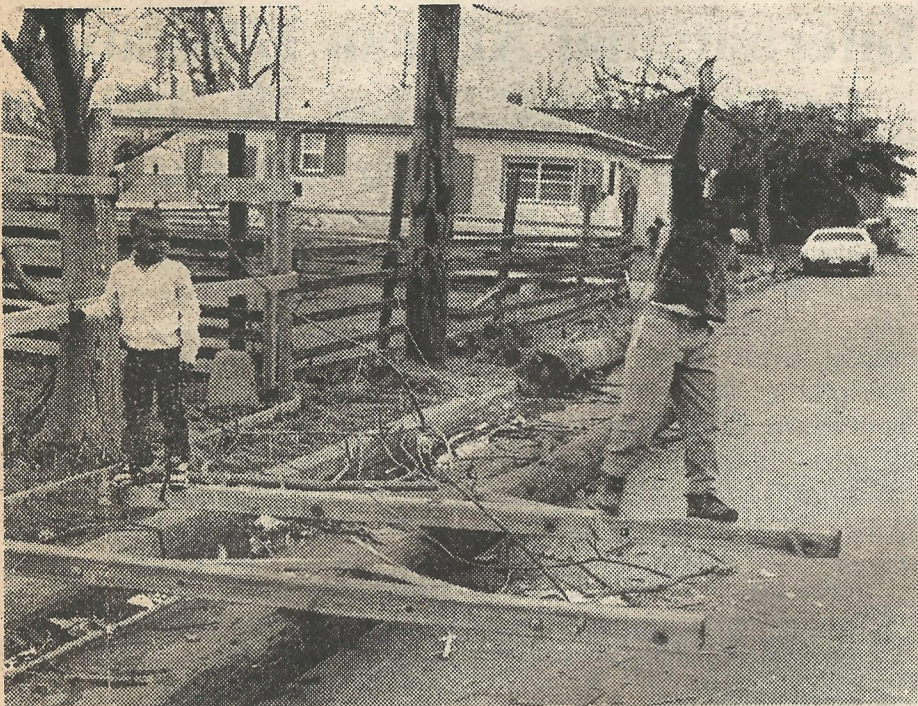
Clinton was elected President, for those who are still convinced that the Democratic Party is our salvation, Clinton's first year in office should be instructive. Not only has he done nothing to stem the move to the right which Republican Presidents Reagan and Bush orchestrated so skillfully, but he has become one of its most prominent cheerleaders.

President Clinton, as we noted in an earlier column, took a firm stand in defense of the rightwing trend during his State of the Union message, where he particularly emphasized his support of the proposed crime bill. Just this past April he ventured in to even more extreme territory in his quest to gradually dismantle the Constitution. Citing a worse case scenario, the

up at the entrances to the projects. All in the name of greater security. This is nothing new. A couple of years ago, the residents of the Chicago housing projects were persuaded to carry identification cards in an attempt to combat drug sales and use. The idea was that only people identified as resident would be allowed unrestricted access to the housing complex. Few of the residents saw that their desperate but misguided attempt to deal with a serious problem was laying the basis for a legalized police state whose force would be used indiscriminately against them, even more than against the supposed targets. Many people found it both frightening and ironic that as South Africa was overturning its dreaded "passbook"

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National Review



Black Mississippi Forgotten

In the northern area of Mississippi thousands of families were left without electricity this past winter due to an ice storm. Mississippi officials have estimated that the storm did more than \$1.3 billion dollars worth of damage with twenty six counties declared disaster areas and about 233,000 households and businesses losing electricity for a time.

A local resident, Ms. Modena Carter, noted that little information had filtered out nationwide about the situation. "You know, I could be dead here and the rest of the country

wouldn't know about it. Usually people come to the Mississippi Delta to cover racial problems or poverty, but otherwise we are neglected. This is just part of that neglect."

An article in *The New York Times* goes on to quote others who agreed, pointing out the tremendous attention paid to the Midwest's floods, the Northeast's multiple snowstorms and California's earthquakes. "Even the Federal Emergency Management Agency hasn't reacted to this ice storm in the same way that they reacted to hurricanes along the Gulf Coast."

The South Behind Bars

Editor's note: excerpted from an article in Southern Exposure.

Want to get rich in the South? Think about opening a prison. For many Southern states, prison construction is now the biggest growth industry in the budget. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, more than 68,000 new prison beds were being built in the region last year at a cost of over \$2 billion.

currently 44 for-profit prisons with 22,121 beds already build or under construction in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Despite the soaring costs, Texas officials have yet to take any substantive action to reduce crime and avert future prison spending. "We're so busy killing alligators," says Comptroller John Sharp, "we haven't been able to drain the

Prison construction is now the biggest growth industry in the budget.

Texas accounts for more than half the total. The Lone Star State is currently in the midst of the largest prison expansion in US history, making room for another 37,800 prisoners. Over the past eight years, prison spending in Texas has leapt by 127 percent - while funds for higher education have risen by only two percent....

Many of those tax dollars will end up in private hands, as Texas leads the nation in the number of prisons run by private companies. According to the Private Corrections Project at the University of Florida, there are

swamp."...

As always, the new prisoners have been drawn primarily from the ranks of the most disadvantaged. "Prison is for the poor, the uneducated, and the unskilled," says Carl Robbins, an ex-prisoner who now runs a state-sponsored job training program for inmates... Although 80 percent of its prisoners abuse drugs or alcohol, Texas is the stingiest state in the nation when it comes to drug treatment and prevention. The state spends \$175.13 per capita to put criminals behind bars - yet devotes only \$1.47 to prevent drug abuse and treat addicts....

CRIMINALIZING YOUTH

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman recently introduced a package of legislation designed to start treating juvenile offenders like adults. Supposedly the bills would help courts and law enforcement agencies better deal with serious juvenile offenders.

Public access to juvenile records would be increased, and law enforcement agencies would be able to share information with other states, Federal agencies, and school officials. Children charged with acts "that would constitute crime if committed by adults" would be fingerprinted. Current law does not require fingerprinting for offenders under the age of 18. The thinking behind juvenile law of course is that minors do not have the knowledge of their actions that adults do and should be treated as the children they are.

FLORIDA

In Florida, legislators have proposed the execution of youngsters as young as age 14. This goes directly against world standards of the human rights of the child which have called for an end to all executions of minors. Another measure would treat children, regardless of age, as adults after they had been incarcerated in juvenile centers three times for felonies. Other bills would allow the authorities to make public the names of youths 17 and under who were charged with a felony and would allow cities to impose a midnight curfew on children 16 and younger.

Also under consideration is a bill to garnishee the welfare payments of the parents of young offenders to help finance juvenile-correction programs.



Woman Sprayed by North Carolina Cops

Excerpted from Justice Speaks

Black residents in the North Carolina town of Battleboro, are waging a fight against police brutality and for political power against the town's all white government.

On April 20, 1994, Tonya Hankerson, a Black Marine sergeant was stopped by the Battleboro police for a routine seat belt check. Hankerson had her 3 week old baby in the car at the time. Hankerson's California license had expired, but she gave the police a military permit that extended the validity of her California license.

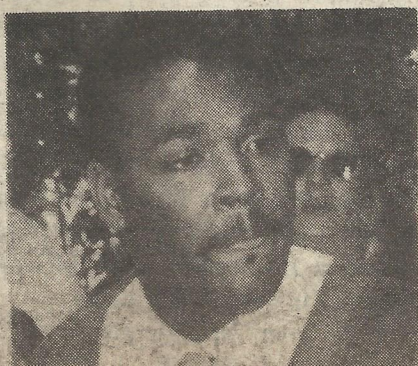
Marilyn Powell, a resident of Battleboro and the aunt of Tonya Hankerson, saw that her niece was

stopped and asked the police if there was a problem. She also asked the police if she could remove her niece's baby from the car while they resolved the problem. Powell was concerned about the baby because she was in the car on a hot day with the windows up. After asking the police a second time about removing the baby, Michael Strickland one of the cops, grabbed Powell's wrist and William Strickland, the other cop, sprayed her with pepper gas. She was then handcuffed and sprayed a second time....

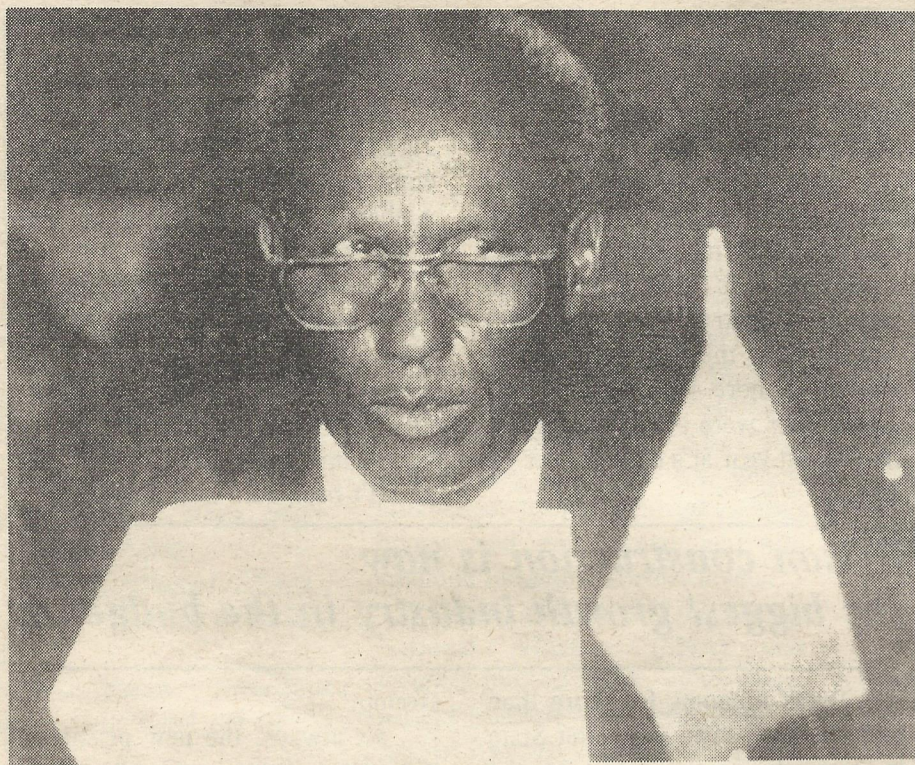
The Concerned Citizens of Battleboro,... has initiated a boycott of area white businesses to help bring pressure for their demands.... the firing of the cops...

Rodney King Wins Case

Rodney King, who was viciously beaten by officers of the Los Angeles Police Department during what should have been a minor traffic incident, has been awarded \$3.8 million in a civil suit. It took days of rebellion in Los Angeles to get a federal conviction against the cops who were videotaped brutally assaulting King after the first jury had found them not guilty.



International



Chairman Mohamad Farah Aidid of Somalia

7th PAC Supports Aidid

The December 12th Movement, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, O.A.A.U. (Organization of African American Unity), Campaign for Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War accomplished a tremendous victory for Pan Africanism, Africans of the diaspora in general and in particular 40 million Africans in the United States. At the extended session of the 7th Pan African Congress in Uganda, chaired by Col Khahinde Otafure, and attended by delegates from Africa, Latin America, Europe, the Caribbean, Canada, Brazil and the US, unanimously adopted the following resolution in support of General Mohammed Farah Aidid and the Somalia National Alliance's political and military victory over the elite US armed forces, led by the US Marines.

Resolution of the 7th Pan African Congress, Kampala, Uganda, April, 1994

Recalling: the fact that the Somali people inherited from the Italian colonialists a highly inefficient and corrupt model of government;

And further recalling: the fragmentation of Somalia, the

availability of large quantities of weapons, the assassination of the second president caused by colonialist corruption and the subsequent military coup of Siad Barre;

And further recalling: the severe suffering, poverty and disease caused by the oppressive policies of this military dictatorship;

Noting that: the Somali people and their leaders have been thwarted by external forces from assuming leadership of their country by disinformation and negative propaganda that demonized them and finally military intervention;

Conscious of: the necessity to correct, rehabilitate and restore Somalia and its leadership;

We call upon: the Congress to support the demand of the Somali people and their leadership, Chairman Mohammed Farah Aidid, for reparations; and further, to repair the public image of Chairman Aidid and the Somali leadership, by seeking support and assistance for him to present the true personage and leadership to the United Nations.

North Koreans Speak for Themselves

[Editor's Note: Over the last year, the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the DPRK, popularly known as North Korea) have been engaged in an on-going battle over the issue of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula. The DPRK insists that the US remove its nuclear capability from the area. The US insists that it has but says the North Koreans are developing/have developed nuclear weapons. In March 1993, the DPRK decided to withdraw from the Nuclear Protection Treaty (NPT), in protest of the manipulations of the United States. But three months later, they unilaterally decided to temporarily suspend full withdrawal

(referred to as the DPRK's "unique status") in an attempt to resolve the problem through direct negotiations with the US. These negotiations have not been satisfactory to either side and, on March 31, 1994, the US was finally successful in having the United Nation's Security Council issue a "Presidential Statement" imposing follow-up inspections on North Korea. Most readers in the US only get the US version of events. Following are excerpts from an April 21st memorandum issued by North Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the obstacles blocking resolution of the nuclear issue].

The United States and the

International African Liberation Support Day - May 28, 1994

Africa Called, Libya Answered

African Liberation Day activities are being planned in New York, Washington, D.C., the West Coast, Dominica in the Caribbean, Canada, Great Britain and many other places. The organizing grew out of the 7th Pan African Congress recently held in Uganda. Participants agreed on the slogan "Africa Called, Libya Answered" to express their solidarity with the

Libyan people, and against the UN embargo imposed on Libya at the behest of the United States, Great Britain and France.

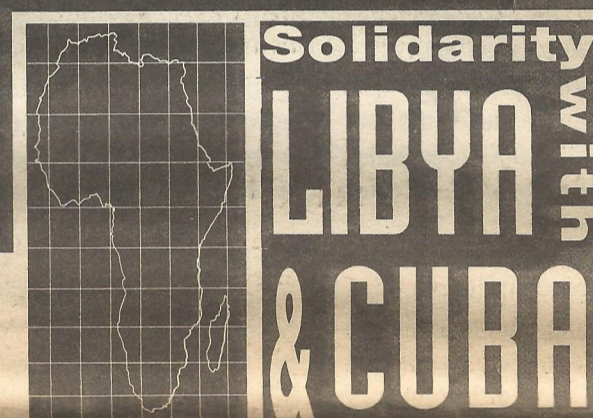
The New York committee added the demand for reparations and the call to have General Aidid of Somalia be invited to the UN General Assembly to give his side of the story about the "humanitarian intervention" in his country.

COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA

ALL AFRICANS UNITE TO STOP THE RAPE AND EXPLOITATION OF AFRICAN

ALL AFRICANS UNITE TO STOP THE RAPE AND EXPLOITATION OF AFRICAN

African Liberation Day Celebrations



All Africans Unite! End the USA Blockade and Embargo of Cuba!

Stop the Recolonisation of Africa!

Reject International Monetary Fund and World Bank Programmes!

Join the Pan African Movement!

Demand Reparations for Enslavement and Colonisation!

COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA

Trade & Africa

Excerpted from *Africa Recovery*, Dec. 1993-March 1994

African leaders are calling for compensation as evidence mounts

that the continent will be the only regional loser from the new international free trade deal concluded in December.... under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GAAT). The global agreement has cut tariffs and bought trade in agriculture and services under the GATT regime for the first time.

Net annual losses for Africa could reach \$2.6 bn in the period to 2002, according to a September 1993 study commissioned by the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank. In contrast, the leading industrial countries stand to reap \$135 bn or 64 percent of total annual gains in world income from GATT....

IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) an organ of the United Nations) Secretariat have ... have recognized the DPRK's unique NPT status...

This is a de facto acceptance by the United States that the inspection needed for the continuity of safeguards is not routine or ad hoc inspection under the Safeguards Agreement [a very strict inspections agreement with the IAEA which the DPRK maintains has had no legal validity since June of 1993. Ed.], but an inspection limited only to the purpose of verifying that there has been no diversion of nuclear material in the DPRK since

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**READ
ARM THE
MASSES**

New York, New York

New Police Tactics In Staten Island: Overkill



Staten Island residents protest the beating to death of Ernest Sayon by police during a drug sweep. The police went after Sayon while they were arresting someone else and beat him while he was handcuffed. The sweeps of public housing will lead to many more such incidents as basic legal safeguards are swept aside in the hysteria around drug related violence.

Reprinted from *New York Newsday*, May 2, 1994

It was a black and blue Saturday night in Staten Island.

Police were everywhere.

In vans. On foot. In riot gear. Carrying shotguns. Wielding nightsticks. Listening to scanners. Flashing lights and sirens. Idling on street corners. Stationed on rooftops. Wearing uniforms and suits.

So were the young Black men and women from the neighborhood.

They hung out in project courtyards. Waited by neon-lit delis. Wore skin-tight hats or camouflage outfits or baggy jeans that had slipped nearly to their knees. They rode bicycles. Stood at bus stops with children. Listened to tape players.

But mostly, they watched the cops.

As anger raged through the Fox Hill section of Staten Island following the Friday night death of

22 year old Ernest Sayon after a confrontation with cops, this was the first major test of a new police approach to potential riots.

After a policy of restraint failed to quell the escalating violence in Crown Heights three years ago, the department revised plans for "disorder control."

The idea behind the policy, which was hatched through dozens of drafts at the highest levels of the department last year, is to deter any escalation of violence with a massive show of police. The new approach - contained in a 57-page booklet with diagrams of formations in the back - calls for a measured use of force, mobile tactics and a large police presence.

In one portion on the deployment of officers, it commands supervisors to "use speed, surprise and deception to accomplish their assignment."

As Saturday night slipped into Sunday morning, the tactics applied

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The Margin of Profit

by Robert Taylor

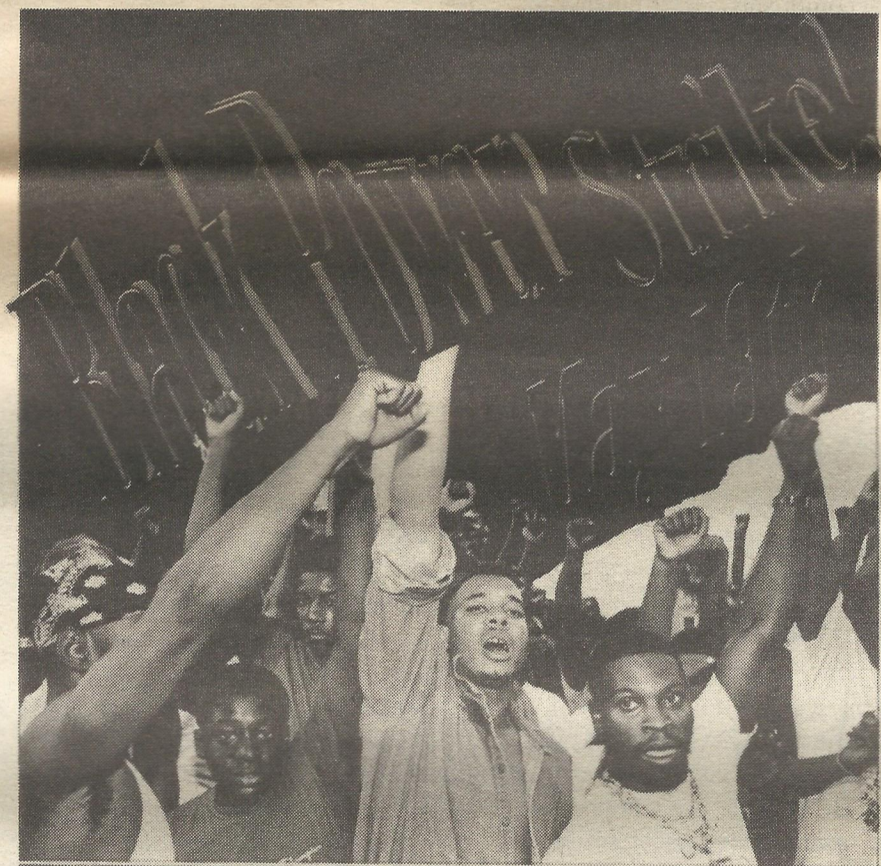
There's a rumor coming out of the Midwest that the larger banks want Black people to close their accounts because it is no longer profitable to give services to small banking accounts as finance capital concentrates at an ever faster rate.

Some weeks ago National Westminster Bank, the second largest bank in Britain, moved its main office in the US from Long Island, NY to Scranton, Pennsylvania. The reasons given were that they did not want to pay the increasing taxes and higher salaries that they had to deal with in NY and that this move would save the bank about \$12 million over the

course of five years. The lower salaries, lower prices and taxes lured Nat West away for good. In response, the businesses on Long Island withdrew about 7 million dollars from the remaining Nat West branches. As a result, Nat West's ratings as a good bank dropped drastically, making its stocks and bonds decrease in value. As of now, the stock holders are trying to figure out will it be more profitable in the long run to move back and regain the lost prominence or stay in Scranton.

In the underdeveloped Black community the banking industry wants to maximize its profits by scrapping bank services and building

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Black Power Rally ** 7:00 PM ** El Hajj Malik El Shabazz School (PS 262)

Malcolm X Blvd. & Macon St. (A Train to Utica, south four blocks to Macon St.)

Make It Plain... join the Black Power Conference Coordinating Committee's Campaign... (718) 712-5447

Black Power Strike in Honor of MALCOLM X

Open Letter to the Shop Owners in the Black Community:

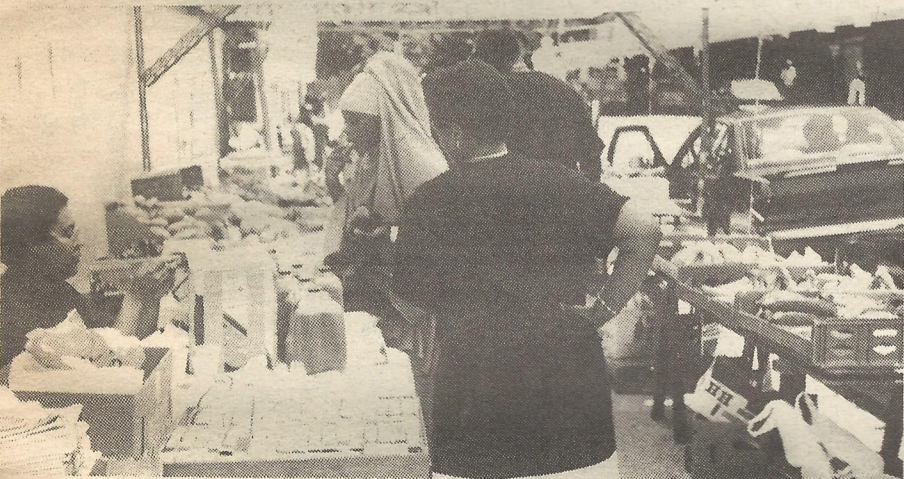
Every people, every nation has its heroes. Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, is one of our greatest. This May 19th will be the 69th anniversary of his birth. On that day Black communities around the city will honor the memory of Malcolm X by conducting a Black Power Strike. Between the hours of 12:00 Noon to 3:00 P.M., Black

people will not work, attend classes, nor shop. We are asking all shopowners and vendors in the community to show their respect by closing their business during those hours.

In addition, we are asking that you place the May 19th poster in a prominent place in your shop.

In the spirit of respect and unity, we thank you for your cooperation.

The Black Power Conference
Coordinating Committee

Police Attack African People's Farmers Market
Emergency Rally Planned for Saturday, May 14, 1994

On Saturday, May 7, 1994, police from the 79th Precinct seized the fruits and vegetables of the African People's Farmers Market. The Market has been open every Saturday for almost six years offering quality service to the community.

Over fourteen patrol cars and undercover units converged on the market, with over forty cops,

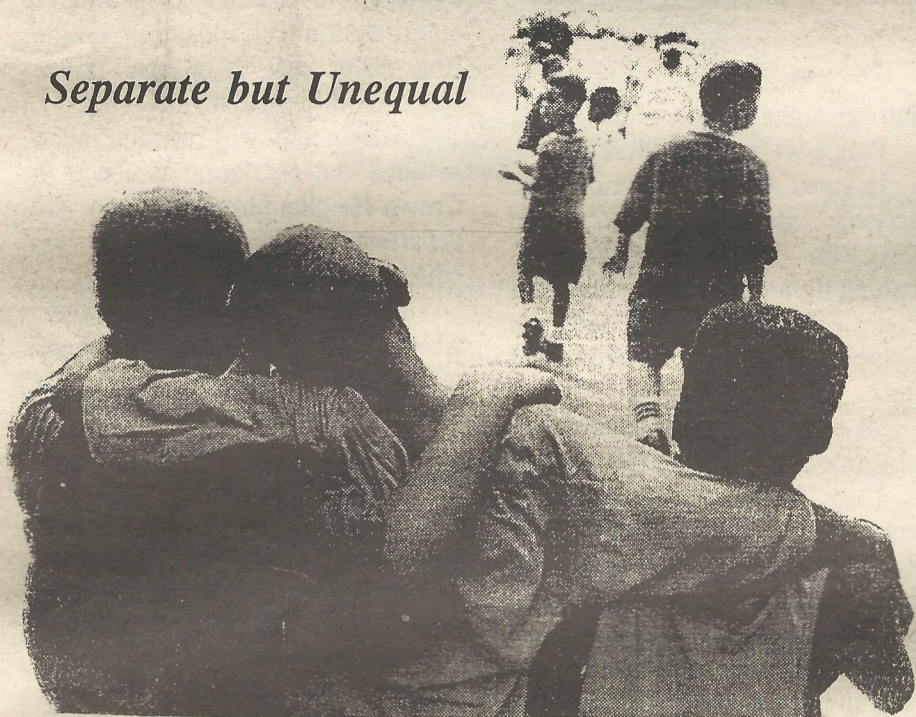
uniformed and undercover, coming to confiscate the fruits and vegetables. This "excessive force" response, Mayor Giuliani's retaliation policy, is designed to deny Black people's right to self-determination and control of our community, and to render all of them criminal. The community responded in outrage; more than 200

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Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution

SPECIAL EDUCATION MUST GO!

Separate but Unequal



by Assata S. Yaa-Asantewa

Although researchers indicate that the Special Education system is a detriment to children, the system continues to horde African and Latino children into it, at alarming rates. Research studies indicate that nearly one-third of all students placed in Special Education are arrested at least once, and within five years after leaving high school forty-three percent of those who do graduate, remain unemployed from three to five years after high school, since they are inadequately prepared

academically, and eventually "graduate" because they are "aged out" at 21.

Special Education was passed by Congress two decades ago, to guarantee fair education for children with disabilities. Recently the New York Times described Special Education in New York City, as a dumping ground used to repress Black boys in particular, since studies show that the children are harmed and not helped by the system. Since the system was designed to assist children with primarily physical disabilities, how then is it that so

many of our healthy children are placed into the system? Black and Latino children are tailored to meet classification within the system, as children are labelled "emotionally disturbed", while Latino children with language barriers are labelled "learning disabled". Once placed in the system, the children are then tracked. A child placed in the system in elementary school, is then referred through the system to a the Special Education program in a junior high school and then from there to high school, where they are kept on low academic levels.

Although children in Special Education are entitled to a broad range of support services designed to address their individual needs, whites who make up 20% of the regular school system receive 37% of the support services in white communities - in regular education classes! Under the Chapter 1 Program, billions of dollars are dis

medicated children languish in resource rooms without support services, overseen by instructors who are nothing more than high paid babysitters. This in itself is a criminal act, since Federal studies show that these same students perform better in regular class settings with extra support services. Children from the same pool of students achieve more, and stay in school longer when kept in regular classes.

A Federal study conducted indicates that poverty determines Special Education placements. Is it any wonder that our children make up the majority of the students placed in Special Education? A private poll conducted recently using some inmates incarcerated in New York City indicate that the range of 24 of 30 inmates housed in the same dorm, were previously placed in Special Education is proof enough that the system as it exists is not being used in the best interest of

A federal study indicates that poverty determines special education placement. Is it any wonder that our children wind up the majority of the students placed in special education?...

bursed to New York City schools to help poor students succeed, under which program one school can receive as much as \$400,000, yet

Black and Latino children. Join an organization to do something about it.

The Youth of South Africa

The Mission of Azapo and the BCM(A)

Excerpted from the speech given by Mosibudi Mangena, the leading figure of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa) at the 7th Pan African Congress held in Uganda in April.

The Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, BCM(A)... are components of the same movement assigned specific roles in the present era of the struggle of the people of Azania for liberation. They are the successors of the first generation of 17 Black Consciousness organizations banned by the racist Pretoria regime on October 19, 1977. The overall leader of the BCM, Steve Bantu Biko, was murdered by the police in detention on 12th September of the same year.

The BCM emerged during one of the darkest periods in the history of Azania. After the Sharpeville massacre, the banning of Black political organizations, the arrestees of thousands of political activists and the flight of many more into exile, while, it appeared the racist regime had succeeded in cowing down the Black population and establishing total white supremacy. Politics was a word whispered only

in the lowest of voices and in the darkest of corners. White liberal strutted around as the only champions of Black rights amidst the intensification of the bantustan system.

These then were the defeated people who wallowed in the hopelessness of their situation, believing in the totality of the superiority of whites and the inherent inferiority of Black people. There was no way such a people, steeped in a mind set of despair, self-pity and complete subservience to their white masters could raise a finger against their oppressors.

The philosophy of Black Consciousness, propounded and introduced on the Azanian political landscape by Biko and his young comrades during those difficult days, sought to restore the humanity and dignity of Black people which was eroded by white racism. It is a philosophy empowering Black people to define themselves on their own terms and to take pride in their norms, culture and history. No people who have swallowed the lie that their history is simply a scattering of savage tribal wars, their culture backward, and their religion a superstition, can fight for



Future revolutionaries, children of ANC Militants at Mazimbu



Children from squatter camps in South Africa.

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Political Prisoners

Political Prisoners/Prisoners of War Moved

Edwin Cortes To Terre Haute

Dear Comrades of Arm the Masses,

Greetings filled with patriotic and revolutionary love. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to everyone who participated in the campaign for my transfer from USP Leavenworth to USP Terre Haute.

I am 3.5 hours from my family and community in Chicago which is a far cry from the approximately nine (9) years I spent in USP Lewisburg and USP Leavenworth hundreds of miles away which imposed undue financial, traveling, and psychological hardships. The only and most effective recourse the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War have that will impact the intransigence of the Bureau of Prisons and US government is the mobilization and pretest of the Puerto Rican and progressive people's worldwide. Thank you again for your persistence and support....

I left USP Leavenworth after the humiliating strip search routine at R & D at 6:00 am and endured a nine hour bus journey to USP Terre Haute, arriving at 3:00 pm. Once again, in R & D I must undergo a

strip, given a new issue of clothing, photographed, fingerprinted, medical interview, and staff interview. I was allowed into general population at approximately 5:30 pm. I was without my property for seven days which limited my ability to write to my family, friends, and supporters. My communication has also been hindered by the new computerized telephone system which requires a pre-approved list limited to 20 persons and processed by another administrative unit. As of this day, I do not have access to the telephone....

I am on the waiting list for the ceramics workshop which will be approximately a six month to a year waiting period. I was also informed that my ceramics materials and paint would be sent home due to lack of storage space. I am presently trying to prevent this from occurring because of the financial hardship it imposes on my family.

On February 28, 1994, my youngest sister, Magdalena was denied permission to visit with me. I was informed by my Case Manager, Mr. Heady and Unit

Manager, Mr. Pickard that all my brothers, sisters and daughter would have to fill out visiting forms prior to obtaining permission to visit. This in spite BOP policy that allows for approval of immediate family for visits and their past visitations at other penitentiaries where I have been incarcerated for the past 11 years.

It is my hope that the next plane or bus trip is the result of the campaign for the freedom of all Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war. I urge you and/or your organization to join the campaign for our release by writing a letter, making a telephone, call or passing a resolution requesting that President William Clinton grant us an amnesty. Letters should be sent to:

President William Clinton
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500

Send copies to:
Ofensiva 92
Apartado 20190
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00920

Edwin Cortes 92153-024
PO Box 33 Unit 3J
Terre Haute, IN 47808



Sekou Odinga

Sekou Odinga was moved from USP Lewisburg in Pennsylvania to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary at the beginning of May.



Mutulu Shakur

As we reported in last month's paper, Mutulu Shakur was moved from Lewisburg Penitentiary. He is now in the infamous Marion Prison.

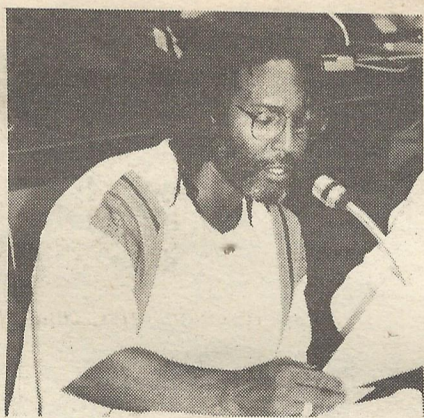
RACIST POLITICAL REPRESSION AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

Resolution presented at the 7th Pan African Congress by Dhoruba Bin Wahad, former prisoner of war, supported by the North American delegation

The 7th Pan African Congress recognizes that people of African descent forcibly kidnapped from Africa and enslaved in the former European colonies of the western hemisphere, have, as a consequence of their common oppression, history, and culture been transformed into a captive people under the control and jurisdiction of the United States government. These people of African descent to this day only enjoy nominal human and civil rights and have been subjected to conditions of social degradation, poor health care, inadequate housing, the criminalization of their communities by a racist power structure, and unbridled police brutality and terror.

This congress also takes note of the following facts:

That the US government in the late 1960s and early seventies targeted the African liberation movement inside of its borders for discreditation, and destruction, and in pursuit of this objective conducted a racist program of murder, and counter-insurgency inside of the African-American



communities. This program of repression was officially named, "The Counter-Intelligence Program" against Black Nationalist hate groups, or COINTELPRO for short, and resulted in the murders of scores of Black nationalist militants, the exile of dozens of activists, and the imprisonment of over fifty former members of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, many of whom have been in prison for over 23 years.

Realizing that the United States government maintains that it has no political prisoners or prisoners of war inside its prisons and jails, despite the fact that all of the political prisoners who are now in prison as a consequence of their activity in behalf of the African liberation movement, are subjected to "special treatment" and often

placed in isolation and high security units precisely because of their political affiliations;

We understand that the United States government and its subdivisions utilize criminal law in order to repress the political rights of all national minorities in general and the African American community in particular. For example, the state of Pennsylvania is utilizing its death penalty as a mechanism of political assassination in the case of Mumia Abu Jamal, a former Black Panther



and journalist, who is presently awaiting execution on Pennsylvania's death row. Abu Jamal has been singled out by that state for execution solely because of his efforts as a journalist to report the atrocities committed by the predominately white Philadelphia police against the African-American community of that city. The details of Abu Jamal's case are documented in the dossiers of African American

prisoners and prisoners of war submitted to this conference.

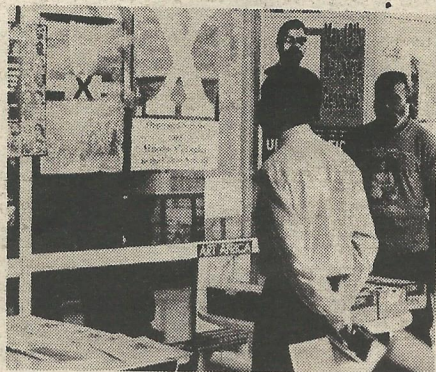
Let it therefore be resolved: that this conference will contact the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and request that they investigate the existence of African American political prisoners and prisoners of war inside US prisons and jails and report their findings to the secretariat of the OAU.

Let it be further resolved that this conference will call upon the OAU to formally ask the US government to free all of its political prisoners.

We also resolve that we must defend the Pan African movement from political repression by former colonial powers, including the United States, therefore, because the existence of African American political prisoners clearly illustrate that those who struggle for the liberation of African people will face the unbridled repression of the United States' government and its allies, we believe it is necessary for the survival of a viable Pan African movement to create legal and diplomatic mechanisms for the repatriation of African American political prisoners to Africa. Therefore, we will call upon all progressive African nations to pass legislation granting Africans in the diaspora the right of return and citizenship.

Culture As A Weapon

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR OUR SHINING BLACK PRINCE *Malcolm X Honored at 7th Pac*



On April 8, 1994, the 7th Pan African Congress, meeting in Kampala, Uganda, passed a historic resolution acknowledging the revolutionary Pan-African legacy of Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale. This resolution, introduced by Prof. James Small of the O.A.A.U. (Organization of African American Unity), and supported by the December 12th Movement, Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in the US and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, makes a concrete statement and sets the course of action for the solidarity and merger of the African American struggle for liberation and the Pan African movement.

RESOLUTION

Where as: Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale, having evaluated and dedicated his life to the freedom and liberation of African people the world over;

Where as: Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale, through his revolutionary efforts revitalized and advanced the cause of Pan Africanism by internationalizing the freedom struggle of African Americans by linking their struggle for liberty and

determination in the Caribbean, Central America, South America, Europe, and Africa. This he accomplished through linking organizationally with those groups, Liberation Fronts, governments and individuals struggling for the liberty and self-determination of African peoples in Africa and the Diaspora; Where as: Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale, declared that the struggle of the African American was a struggle for Human Rights, and not one of civil

Malcolm established the Organization of African American Unity, with chapters in Accra, Ghana in Africa; Trinidad in the Caribbean; Toronto, Canada; Paris, France in Europe; London and Manchester in the United Kingdom; and headquartered in New York City, USA;

Where as: Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale, in his speech, (now famous), before the OAU in Cairo declared to that great body and the world that the struggle of Africans for liberty and self-determination anywhere was linked to the struggle of Africans for liberty and self-determination everywhere;

Therefore

Be it Resolved: that this 7th Pan African Congress goes on record and in history recognizing the great contribution of Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Omowale, in revitalizing and advancing the Pan African movement worldwide.



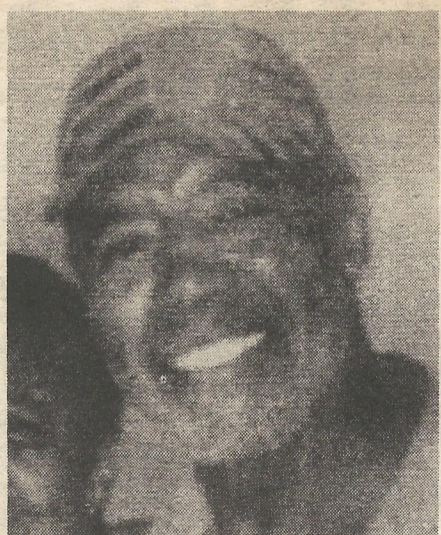
7th PAC delegates Viola Plummer, Akbar Muhammad, Coltrane Chimurenga, Prof. James Small and unidentified man on the left.

self-determination to that of Africans struggling for liberty and self-

rights, and to promote the advancement of this struggle

Africa Unite

MY TRIP TO CUBA



by Olive Armstrong

My trip to Cuba was a most enlightening trip which should be experienced by everyone.

It has not been a week since I returned from Cuba. I joined the Venceremos Brigade in a two week trip, on its 25th anniversary. This trip was in defiance of the US blockade against that tiny socialist country. A country which had decided 35 years ago to be self-determining.

I wanted to take this trip because I wanted to see for myself the atrocities the US said is being perpetrated on the Cubans. I wanted to see how the human rights violations are forced upon its people, but to my amazement what I found was - no police brutality, no people living in the streets and no hungry people.

I found a country where the

people are treated with dignity. A country where people live without all the luxuries that we in the capitalist world put ourselves in tremendous debt for. Owing insurmountable amounts of money that we will never be able to pay off while the capitalists continue to produce new products we feel we cannot live without.

I found a country where there is no unemployment, where everybody has a job and children don't have to work to help the family financially.

I found a country where everyone is able to get an education free of charge, starting from kindergarten to whatever level they want to go, and where illiteracy is almost eradicated. I spoke to a doctor and a teacher who had been through the education system, I also spoke to a high school student who informed me that they paid not a penny for their education. This includes books and any other equipment they needed to have.

I found a country where health care is absolutely free of charge and you don't have to wait for hours to be taken care of. People are treated with dignity, therefore they respect their surroundings. Have you visited an emergency room in New York lately. This article is being written while I sit waiting for my companion in St. Lukes Hospital Emergency Room where he is being treated for insulin shock. We have been here for several hours. The

emergency room is packed with people who have been here for several hours. One girl told her friend that she slept there the night before and another day has passed and she is still waiting. The rest room is filthy, paper towels are strewn around the floor and the sink has not been cleaned. Not so in Cuba. It is clean and sanitary.

higher professions, such as lawyers, doctors, etc. This mode of existence should be experienced by everyone.

Africans born and living in the US as well as Africans on the continent and around the world should strive to institute a socialist mode of existence, because it is only through socialism that we will be



Working in the fields in Cuba

During my two weeks I never saw a homeless person or anyone begging. Everyone lives in a humble home, not luxurious, but home. The rents are regulated according to your salary and the number of people in your family.

The Venceremos Brigade is a working brigade which helps in the production of a product while residing in Cuba. We worked along with practicing lawyers in the tobacco shed. There is no work which is too menial for people in

able to survive. Remember ours was the first communal society.

Not only did we visit institutions, and work to produce and raise the economic standard of the society in Cuba, but we were entertained and partied and had a wonderful time.

Cuba, Si Embargo, No!

Harriet Tubman

The Maroons Field Training Manual

Physical Conditioning

1. Stretching is an important aspect of any physical training program. It should not be overlooked. Stretching will help you avoid unnecessary injury. These are the areas to be worked on for about 10-15 minutes before and after training: a) neck, b) shoulders, c) wrist, d) waist, e) legs, f) knees, g) ankles; 2. Push ups - 50 knuckle push ups/three clips; 3. Sit ups - 75 - 13 clips - legs should not be straight, feet should be level with floor; knees bent; 4. One forced mile - under 6.5 minutes. 5 miles - 45 minutes; 5. One mile run and punch with 5 lbs in each hand. Remember here that the emphasis is on number of punches. No less than 100 punches a lap is acceptable at a rate of one mile in under 8 minutes. 6. Kicks - front and side kicks - 30 each leg - under 2 minutes; 7. Wind sprints - five 100 yard sprints or ten 50 yard sprints - time the sprints. 8. Sparring - 5 minutes offense and defense - constant controlled punching. Look for your openings. Keep moving, preferably from side to side rather than backwards.

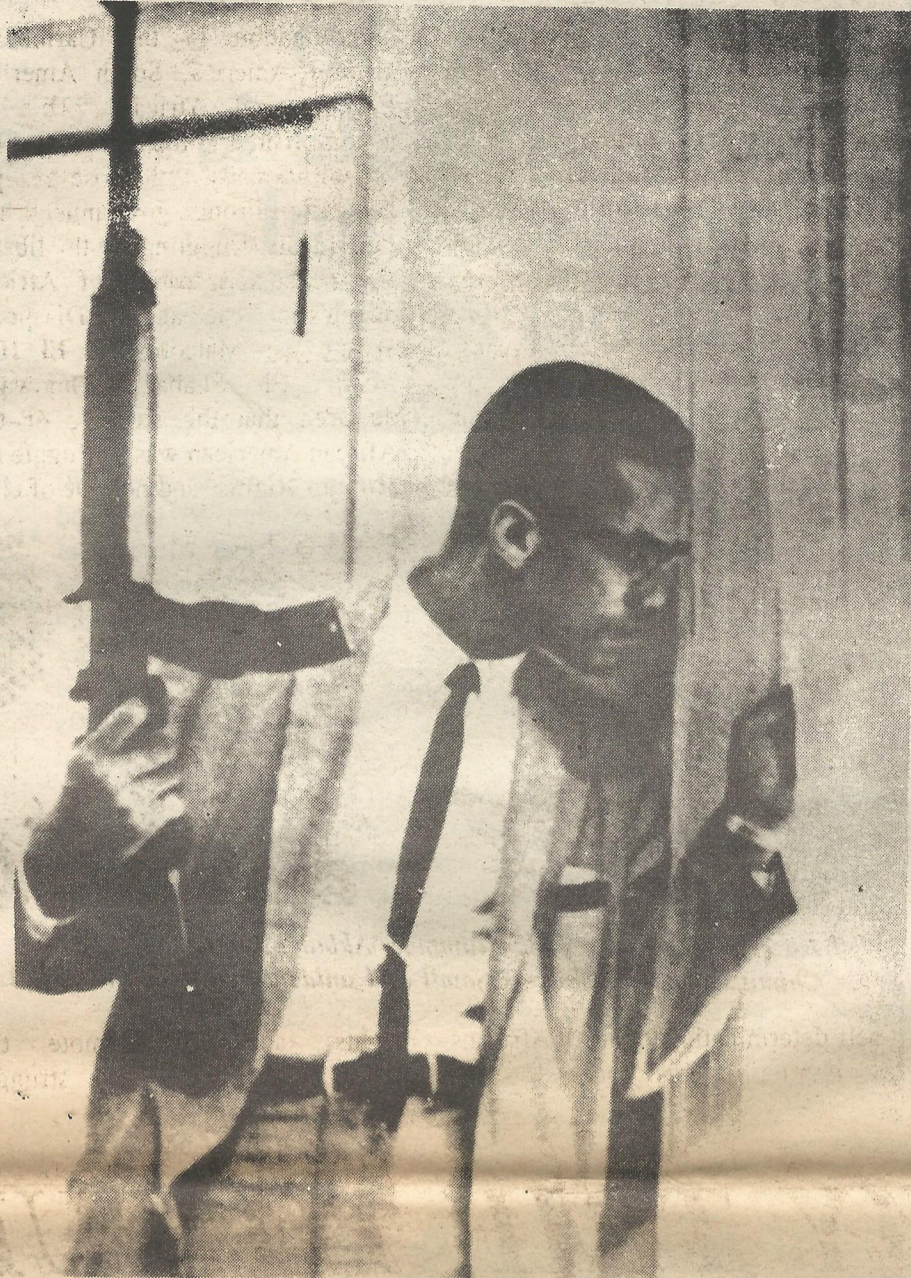
Hand to Hand Combat

For revolutionaries waging a war for scientific socialism through armed clandestine struggle, our breath and spirit is FREEDOM OR DEATH. When disarmed, or out of ammunition, we must still be able to fight and win, or avoid capture. Be quick - make use of any available weapon at hand. For us, there is only one purpose in hand to hand combat and that is to WIN. Never face an enemy with the idea of knocking him out. The chances are extremely good that he will kill you.

When a weapon is not available, one must resort to the full use of our natural weapons. The natural weapons are: street objects, metal, glass, wood, steel etc. and the human body.

- a) knife edge of your hand
- b) fingers folded at the second joint or knuckle
- c) the protruding knuckle of your second finger
- d) the heel of your hand
- e) the little finger edge of your hand
- f) boot
- g) elbow
- h) knees
- i) teeth

An aggressive offense is a primary factor. A fight is never won by defensive action; too much time on the street will also kill us. Think freedom or death. Attack viciously with all of your strength. At any point or in any situation some vulnerable point on your enemy's body will be open for attack. Attack screaming, as a scream has two purposes: 1) to frighten and confuse your enemy, and 2) to allow you to take a deep breath, which in turn will put more oxygen in your blood stream and afford you more strength than you



would normally have. Your balance and the balance of your enemy are very important factors because if you can succeed in making your enemy lose his balance, the chances are nine to one you can kill him in the next move.

The best stance for hand to hand combat is with your feet shoulder width apart, your right foot about 12 inches ahead of your left, (vice a versa for left handers). Both arms should be bent at the elbows, parallel to each other, on either side of the face or throat. Stand on the balls of your feet and bend slightly at the waist. Employing a yell or scream or sudden movement with either hand can throw your enemy off balance.

Vulnerable Areas on the Human Body

Eyes

Temporary or permanent blindness can be induced by several means. First, by forming a "V" shape with your index and middle fingers and driving them into your opponent's eyes, while keeping a stiff wrist and fingers. Done with force, this can be permanent. Second, the thumb and/or middle knuckle can be used in gouging the eyes.

Noses

The nose is an extremely vulnerable point of attack. It can be struck with the knife edge of the hand across the bridge. This will cause breakage, sharp pain, temporary blindness, and if the blow is hard enough, death, as the nose bone

with force can be driven up into the brain. Another method is to deliver an upward blow with the heel of the your hand. This will have the same effect as the blow on the bridge.

Adam's Apple

If you find that you have an opening in which you can strike this area use a hard blow with the knife edge of your hand. (This can either be a forearm or a back arm blow.) The chances are that if you connect with a hard blow, your enemy will die with a severed windpipe, but even if the blow was only partially effective, you may still find your enemy in severe pain or gagging. Another method of attack is squeezing the Adam's apple between your forefinger and thumb.

Temple

An enemy can easily be killed by a sharp blow to the temple, as there are large nerves and arteries close to the skin. A heavy blow with the knife edge of your hand will kill instantly. A moderate blow to the temple will cause severe pain and concussion. If you succeed in knocking your enemy down kick him hard in the temple with the toe or heel of your boot or shoe. It will

insure that he will never give up.

Upper Lip

The point where the nose cartilage joins the upper section of the jaw is where a large network of nerves is extremely close to the skin, and a sharp upward blow will cause extreme pain and unconsciousness.

Ears

The hands in a clapping motion over the enemy's ears can kill him immediately because the vibrations caused from the clapping motion will burst the enemy's eardrums and cause bleeding in the brain.

Groin

This is an area that everyone who has ever been in a confrontation is aware of and tries to defend. But if the area is left open, attack viciously.

Solar Plexus

The solar plexus is a large network of nerves located at the bottom of the rib cage. A blow should be struck slightly upward with the protruding knuckle of the middle finger. A sharp blow can cause severe pain and unconsciousness.

Spine

The spinal column houses the spinal nerves and a well directed blow to this area can easily kill or paralyze the enemy. The only effective means of delivery for a blow of this sort is after you have succeeded in knocking him to the ground: use a knee, or heel or toe 2 inches above the belt line.

Kidneys

A large nerve that branches off the spinal cord comes very close to the skin at the kidneys, and a direct blow to the kidneys, therefore, can cause death.

Collarbone

A sharp blow delivered with either elbow or knife edge of the hand can break the collarbone and bring the enemy to his knees.

Floating Ribs

The floating ribs are sensitive parts of the body and can be attacked either from the front or back. Attack and deliver a blow to the enemy's right side since this is where the liver is located.

Stomach

There are many combinations of blows which can form a pattern of attack. But one of the most basic is a blow to the stomach. Excepting the solar plexus, the stomach is an area which cannot be treated as an end in itself, but rather as a starting point for a series of blows.

Instep

The bones in the instep are very small and weak and can be broken easily. A stomp, using the edge of your right boot or shoe to your enemy's right instep is quite effective and at the same time protects your groin area. The instep is an area to remember as it is almost never defended or protected, and if directly attacked can render an enemy immobile through severe pain. This attack is also useful for breaking an opponent's grip, especially if he is holding you from the back, i.e., a full nelson.

Think of these principles as being the ten commandments of combat:

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EDITORIAL

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

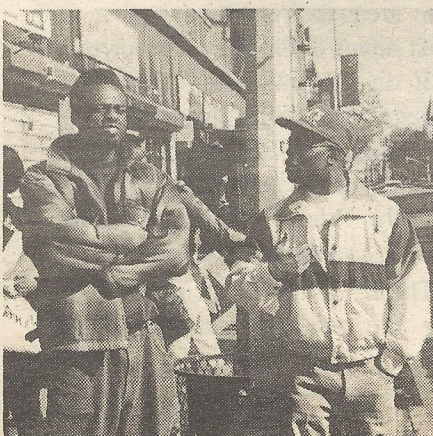
Whenever and wherever oppressed people decide that they have had enough suffering and injustices and rise up to fight, the oppressor is forced to release the chains that hold them in bondage. Regardless if it's the racist South African Apartheid regime, the Zionist Israelis, the Mexican government or the ultra-racist imperialist USA, the powerless become a greater force. The aspirations of the have-nots become more formidable and determine the course of human history simply because their struggle is just. The oppressed masses' dreams of freedom suddenly burst forth and

No people passively shed their bondage and oppression...

materialize when their struggle advances to fighting (armed struggle) for control over a land mass, a homeland to constitute their new nation or their liberated territory. Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation said there was nothing more precious than independence. For the oppressed this is a law.

Chairman Mao Tse Tung, the great helmsman of the Chinese Revolution, stated that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution.

Black Revolutionary Marxists and Maoists in the early seventies echoed these same profound slogans, but, for the most part, they were talking to themselves. Notably absent was any mention of land. The toiling masses of Africans inside the Belly of the Beast didn't believe their conditions warranted unity with Mao nor the revolution's perceptions and analysis. The consciousness of the Black masses was low. They had yet to be politicized, to have their consciousness heightened to understand and internalize their own political realities and the inevitable political solutions which would be



TAKING BACK THE HOOD

The Struggle is for National Liberation

necessary for their liberation. Thus they remained mentally enslaved and shackled to capitalist neo-colonialist realities.

No people passively shed their bondage and oppression. Enslavement must be fought against as an assault, first against the natural perceptions and consciousness, then attacked in the concrete reality of the people's day to day suffering. For any people to be denied their human rights to life, liberty, sovereignty and

years, but we remain oppressed. Had we received the "40 acres and a mule" that we had earned and which was promised to us, our land base would be secure, our nation united and our situation today very different. Those who made the promise had some idea of its potential. It is no accident that it was never kept.

If we are to be free, our goals must become greater than a desire to be an "American." A land base, a territory, a nation, under our



control, is what can assure us our fullest development as a people. Our struggle is for land, independence and self-determination. The first expression of our unity with this goal must be our participation in the struggle to reclaim and control our neighborhoods. We must do this on

A land base... is what can assure us our fullest development

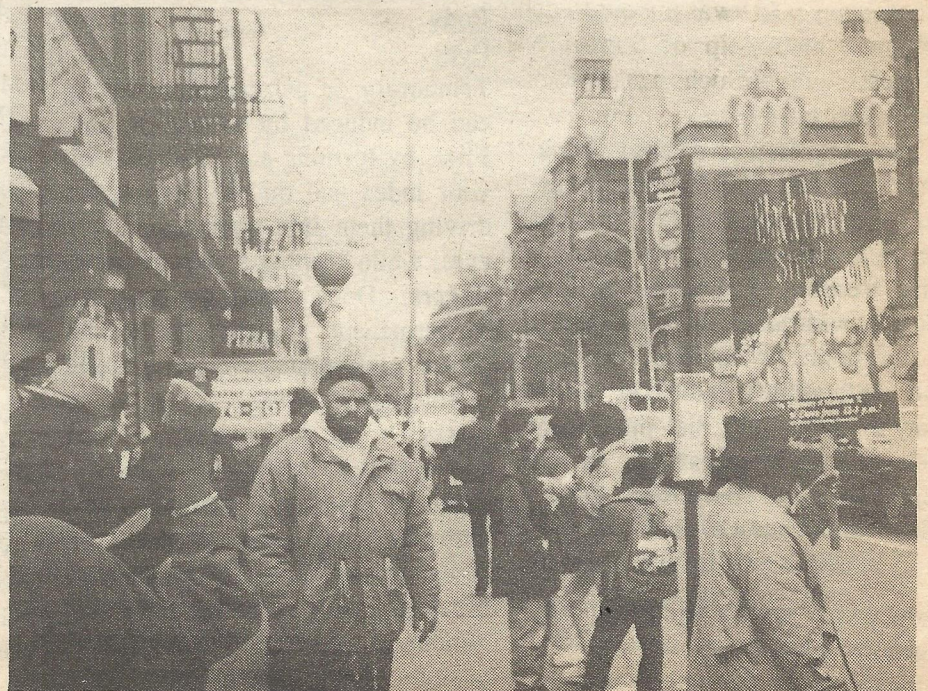
a relentless block by block basis. Our neighborhoods must become "liberated zones" - microcosms of the nation we will liberate. Anything less will mean that we don't really want to be free.



development is a fundamental violation of their human right to self-determination.

Twenty-two million Black South Africans are free. Two million Palestinians have won a partial victory in their struggle to return to their homeland. What about the forty million Africans captured in the U.S. who coexist with monopoly finance capitalism, yet are subjected to a lower living stand, live in a constant state of police occupation and must submit to economic exploitation by avaricious foreign merchants whose vile disregard for Blacks is raw and naked?

We Africans in the US have been legally "free" for nearly 30



International Intervention in Somalia

And Its Lesson for Africa

Statement by Mohammad Farah Aidid, Chairman of the Somali National Alliance presented at the Pan African Congress, Kampala, Uganda, April 1994. Arm the Masses is publishing this statement as part of an effort to bring Chairman Aidid to the United Nations to present his side of the intervention in Somalia.

It is a great honor for me today to address this august gathering of African people from all over the world. The fact that we have managed to gather here twenty years after the last Pan African Congress proves that the ideals of the Pan African movement and the aspirations of the African people are still alive. It also proves the realization that there is an immediate threat facing Africa. This danger manifests itself in the attempt to colonize Africa and marginalize African descent in the diaspora.

The Pan African Movement was initiated by the Africans in the diaspora as an instrument to protest against slavery and racial discrimination. But eventually, its focus shifted to the struggle to:

1. Free the Africans from the bondage of slavery and the burden of colonialism;
2. Create unity among Africans; and
3. Develop Africa through the promotion of culture, science and economy.

The Pan African Movement has had many committed and dedicated leaders including Du Bois, Garvey, Williams, Nkrumah, Nyerere and Lumumba. However, most of these leaders, were castigated by external forces opposed to the aspirations of the African people.

Reflecting on our Somali experience, we found out that the same external forces were opposed to the struggle being waged by the leaders and the people of Somalia to promote the same programs pursued by the Pan African Movement. In the past four years, they have consistently attempted to deny the leaders of this struggle in Somalia the opportunity to assume the leadership of the country. They have used three strategies to achieve this objective:

1. A great deal of negative propaganda was put out to demonize the leadership of Somali National Alliance which was intended to create negative image internally and externally. We have been painted as clan leader, murderer, warmonger and a power seeker.
2. They have imposed economic sanctions on our movement and our supporters so as to cripple the effectiveness of our political message and agenda.
3. They have attempted to physically eliminate us as you have witnessed in the war of last year in Mogadishu.

At this moment I feel it is necessary to look briefly at the history of the Somali struggle which is being spearheaded by the Somali



Chairman Mohammad Farah Aidid at 7th PAC

National Alliance (SNA). On attainment of formal political independence in 1960, Somalia inherited from the Italian colonialists a highly inefficient and corrupt model of government. As a result of this simultaneous inheritance and imposition, Somali society got highly fragmented, so much so that any one with money or weapons could come to power. Not surprisingly, for example, in the last elections which were held in March, 1969, over seventy (70) political parties participated, in a country of less than ten million then! In that same year, the second president of the Somali Republic, Abdul Rashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated.

me, he kept me close to himself as his personal adviser so as to keep a watchful eye on me. However, he did not feel happy even with this arrangement, so [he] exiled me as ambassador to India, a post from which I resigned in June 1989 after five years of service for reasons of coming back home to organize armed struggle against the brutal regime. The regime had stubbornly refused to open up the political system, liberalize the economy and allow political opposition.

In December 1989 I arrived in Ethiopia and made my headquarters in the town of Mustahail where the United Somali Congress (USC) held its Second Congress and I was

Reflecting on our Somali experience, we found that the same external forces were opposed to the struggle of the Somali leaders and people to promote the same programs pursued by the Pan African Movement...

Within a week of his assassination, Siad Barre staged a military coup which misruled the country for the next twenty-one years.

Siad Barre created a police state modelled after the Soviet Union, with an extensive, repressive security apparatus. He also nationalized every economic activity in the country. On the second day of the military coup, I advised him to hand over [the] government machinery to professional technocrats and remove the military from the daily management of the nation. Because of that, he sent me to prison where I spent six years in solitary confinement. On releasing

elected as Chairman of the movement. I was also charged with responsibility of organizing the military operation to remove the regime. The resolutions adopted by the Congress, stated in part that a democratic government should be established at the end of the military rule and that Somalia should have close ties with African countries especially the neighboring nations. At the end of the Congress, we... contacted the other two armed movements, the Somali National Movement (SNM), and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and... urge[d] them that we should coordinate our military operations

against the regime and establish a political umbrella so as to establish an interim administration upon removal of the regime. This program was agreed to and adopted.

But in May 1990, two events took place that would have negative impact on our struggle. First, the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Boutros Ghali, [now the Secretary General of the UN], who was a close ally of Siad Barre, called a meeting in Cairo to reconcile the differences between the armed movements and the regime of Siad Barre, a call the opposition rejected. This made Boutros Ghali very angry, something he still holds against us. Second, a group of Somalis composed mainly of politicians of the 1960s vantage point, army officers, businessmen and civil servants, totalling about 100, issued a statement (known as the Mogadishu Manifesto) which was meant to preempt the movements and assume power before capture of power by the armed movements. Siad Barre paid no heed to the Manifesto, and instead imprisoned some of the members.

When the USC demolished the 21st Army in Central Somalia during 1990 and got close to Mogadishu, Siad Barre panicked and made a secret deal with the Manifesto Group in Mogadishu. He asked them to choose 75 people from among them and he selected 25 people from his relatives and supporters whom he called Sulluh (meaning peace) to constitute a new government in the event that his regime fell. When the USC fighters arrive in Mogadishu in December 1990 and engaged fierce battle with the government troops which lasted towards the end of January, Siad Barre fled the city. And the Sulluh-Manifesto Group immediately proclaimed a government and chose Ali Mahdi Mohammed as its interim president.

This unexpected occurrence caused many disastrous results. One, Siad Barre was neither captured nor exiled but, instead, he settled in the southern part of the country where he remained for the next 15 months. The SNM, angered by this illegal... [situation] declared the northern part independent from the rest of the country. Three, the militia I was leading and which had overthrown the military regime got frustrated and disappointed by the proclamation of an illegal interim government. And so many left the city and dispersed throughout the country.

I advised the Manifesto group to renounce their pretence of forming a government since they lacked popular support and had not participated in the long struggle against the regime. They rejected my advice. I could have arrested all these people, but I was trying to

cont. on page 18



Africans and World Revolution



The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in diaspora, and the masses worldwide. It is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes: and it is there, Africa, where they will meet their ultimate defeat.

The Challenge Ahead in South Africa: Money

by Antero Pietila

reprinted from NY Newsday

The transfer of political power in South Africa may be the easiest

work in the white economy and can observe themselves -- the disadvantaged are keenly aware of

where a handful of people -- all white -- control much of the private sector economy.

Economic power is so concentrated that some 10 conglomerates control nearly 90 percent of the equity on the Johannesburg stock exchange. They include the Oppenheimer family's Anglo-American/DeBeers/Minorco empire, Anton Rupert's tobacco and liquor giant Rembrandt/Richemont, the Gordons' Liberty Life, the Mentells' and Hersovs' Anglovaal mining concern and insurance and banking behemoths Old Mutual and Sanlam.

Over the past decade, many of these players -- spearheaded by Anglo-American and Rembrandt -- have systematically dispersed their operations and capital throughout the world.

They have been extremely secretive, both about their financial arrangements and structures because

of sanctions against South Africa -- and, in the case of DeBeers, the company's virtual monopoly of the world diamond market.

Through extensive cross-ownership, these companies remain dominant players in South Africa's economy. But as they internationalized their organization and assets, their tentacles acquired octopus-like characteristics.

"Where is the heart of DeBeers? It is not easy for me to say," acknowledges a well-placed South African business representative in Washington. "Is it on Market Street in Johannesburg? Perhaps. But it could be as well in Switzerland."

These companies globalized their operations at a time when many foreign multinationals were bought by ruling Afrikaners.



STRONG DOWNTURN IN US AID TO AFRICA

Reprinted from *Africa Recovery*, Dec. 1993-March 1994

Total US aid to Africa will fall by nearly 30 percent in fiscal year 1994 to \$947.6 mn if the US Congress approves proposals made by President Clinton. For FY 95, the proposals eliminate specific country-by-country spending -- except for Israel, Egypt and Russia -- in favor of flexible promotion of broad policy objectives such as democracy, free trade, anti-terrorism and environment. With no funds earmarked for Africa in FY 95, some US lawmakers and non-governmental organizations fear further cuts in US aid to Africa.

Already, all categories of US economic support are down in FY 94, most notably foreign disaster and rehabilitation aid by 86 per cent to \$20.6 mn, and food aid by 72 per cent to \$93.4 mn. While US development aid slips modestly from

\$821.6 mn in FY 93 to \$816 mn, only 6 per cent down on FY 92, it is part of a pattern that has seen total US aid to Africa fall by more than one third since FY 92.

The decrease is part of a major overhaul of US aid machinery that includes the closure by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) of offices in 21 countries, nine of them African: Burkina Faso, Botswana, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Togo and Zaire. The 21 offices were either in countries that firstly, had "graduated" beyond concessional grants; secondly, had only small programs that could be run through regional offices; or thirdly, were "poor partners" unable to achieve sustainable development unless government policies changed, declared USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood.

part in a country where inequalities -- compounded by vast educational differences -- are so stark that the white minority owns nearly 90 percent of the land and controls about the same percentage of formal economy.

The triumphant African National Congress now has to decide how it can keep its promise and make a more equal share of wealth available to the Blacks -- but without scaring off white investors.

The infrastructure challenges alone are incredible. South Africa's 4.5 million whites enjoy all the conveniences that come with one of the world's highest standards of living -- from swimming pools to luxury cars. In contrast, many of the 35 million Blacks, "coloreds" or Indians lack basic services such as tap water and electricity.

Because of the highly commercialized atmosphere of urban South Africa -- and because so many

how the privileged live. And now that the majority of South Africans are under 21 years of age, they may not have the patience for change of their elders.

Most of the current government's long term development plans were made only with the white minority's needs in mind. South Africa's power grid, for example, will be woefully undersized to handle the explosive demands of Black consumers, many of whom expect to have electricity among the first fruits of majority rules.

Nelson Mandela has been deliberately vague about his economic agenda. This is not surprising; he does not want to upset the apple cart. As the imminence of ANC rule became evident, some 16 billion rands (about \$4 billion) were transferred out of the country last year alone.

The ANC will inherit a country

Africa and World Revolution

Pres. Museveni of Uganda at 7th PAC



by Angela Magnum

I was privileged to be a part of the December 12th Movement's delegation to Kampala, Uganda for the 7th Pan-African Conference. In addition to participating in this historical arena as Africans born on the Continent, those born in North America and those born in the Caribbean came together to outline strategies to ensure self-determination and liberation for African people wherever they may exist, two things are forever embedded in my mind. The historical interview we conducted

with General Aideed of Somalia, and the speech given by the host country, President Yoweri K. Museveni of Uganda, were two of my major highlights.

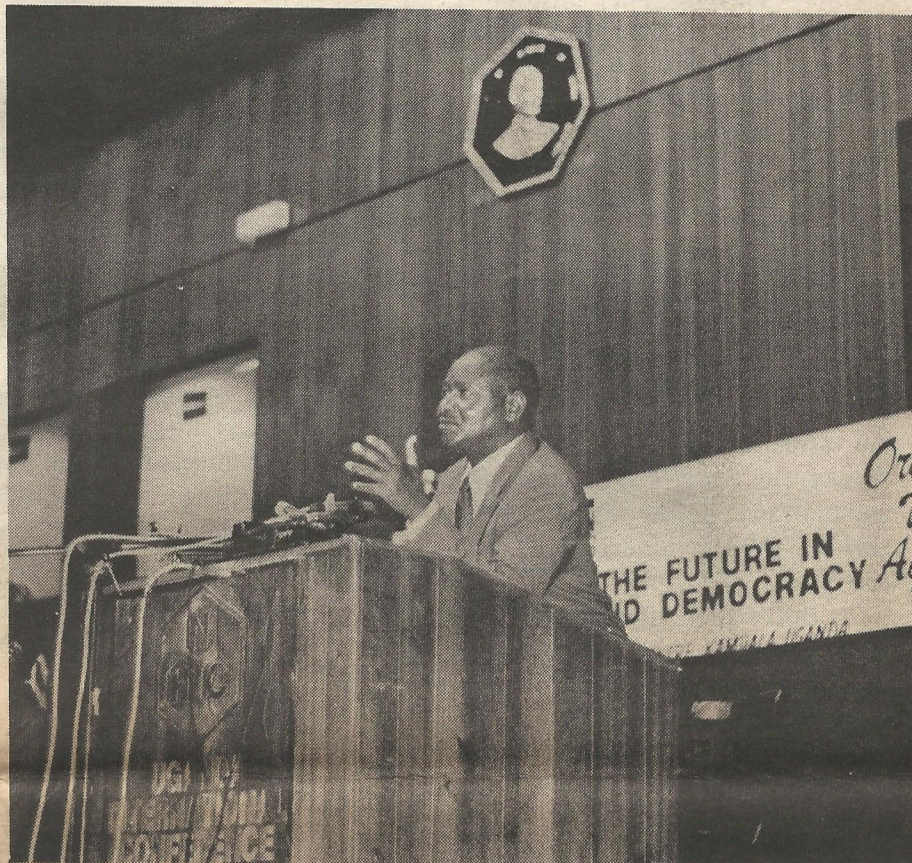
President Museveni's speech was based on perception, cognition and his consistent struggle to lay out a blueprint for the liberation of all African people. He made it clear that before Africans can stop the process of re-colonization and achieve economic independence, they must address their internal weaknesses and the external greed supported by the avariciousness of some of our own people. He pointed out that Africans' supernatural view of the world must be changed, since it leads them to believe that fundamental changes can only occur through superstition and prayer. I believe that every country in Africa would be better off if they heeded this message.

President Museveni pointed out that it is an historical fact that some African chiefs and some African leaders indeed collaborated with slave traders, colonialists and even today, imperialists, to undermine the struggle by Africans against foreign incursions. That being the case, it is no wonder that the Continent continues to suffer endemic poverty, coup d'etat and high mortality rates.

In order to save Africa, President Museveni has pointed us toward science technology and management skills. He indicated that science will teach Africans to critically analyze Africa's problems, based on Africa's historical and concrete conditions. Only through science

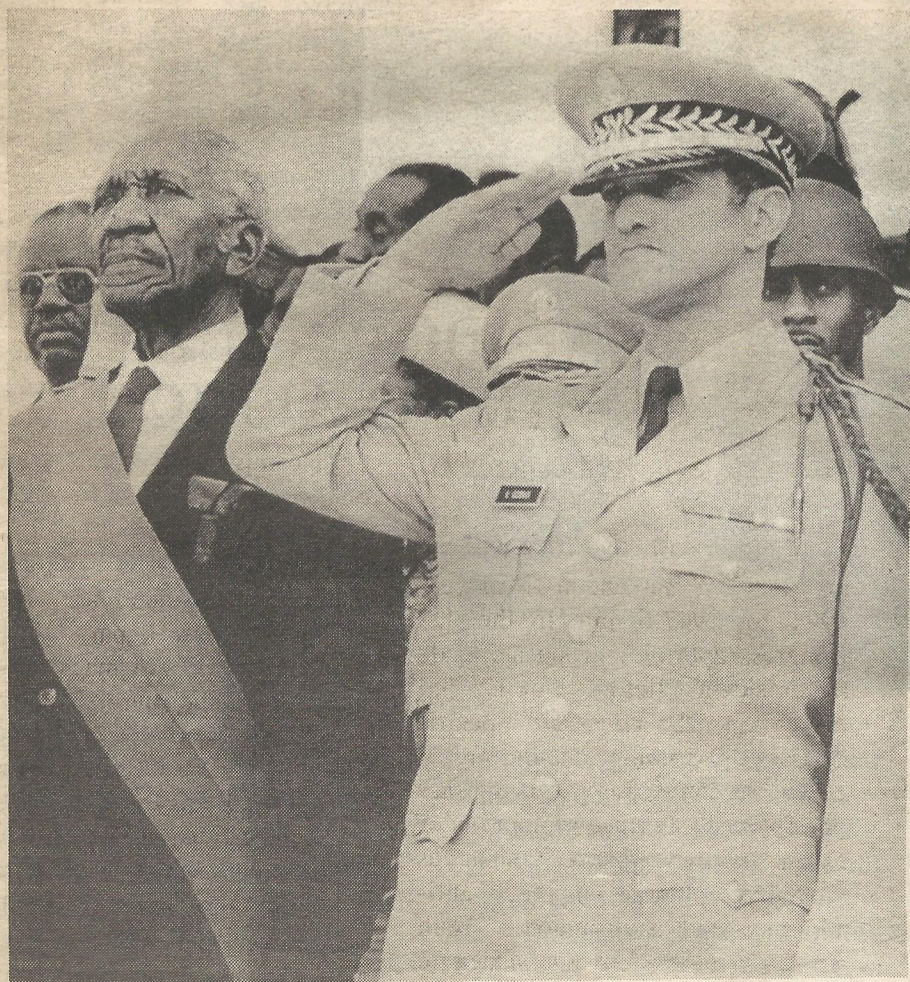
can Africans create their own technology which would allow them to maximize the use of their own resources, become familiar with the marketable products, thereby improving the conditions in their own country and for African everywhere

United African States! Self-Determination, Self-Development and Struggle against Imperialism for the good of all African people! Only Africans can solve African problems.



President Yoweri K. Museveni addressing the conference.

Two Hutu women who fled violence in neighboring Rwanda await medical attention at refugee center in Benako, Tanzania.



Haiti Threatened with Invasion

Emile Jonassaint, the illegallly appointed president of Haiti, stands by military strongman Raoul Cedras.

President Clinton plans to tighten the embargo against the brutal military junta in Haiti, threatening the stopping of commercial travel to the island. Having let the dictatorship enjoy almost two years of power, during which time the drug flow through Haiti made many millionaires, Clinton now is talking about sending in the Marines to invade Haiti once again.



HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW

Ask US Inmates About Caning



by Les Payne

Batoning.

Unlike caning, this torture is unique to the US penal system. The name derives from the wooden stick, about a meter in length, called a baton used to administer the blows. They are excruciatingly painful. But that is getting ahead of the story.

As all the world knows, a Singapore court imposed a sentence of six strokes of a rattan cane on Michael Fay, an American teenager convicted of spray-painting cars. The sentence has inspired Fay's mother to enlist President Bill Clinton and 6,000 signatures to petition the government for clemency.

The British press, the mother of all tabloid sleaze, has whetted the appetites of its kindred hacks worldwide as well as legitimate media, to say nothing of S&M devotees. American readers have

been aroused with the anticipatory joy or pain of each of the six lashes slated to permanently scar young Fay's buttocks.

Cartoonists have worked the issue feverishly. Actors have thrilled TV audiences with enactments of the magic moment. Young Fay would be stripped naked, strapped to a trestle and bent forward to receive his blows from a martial arts sadist wielding a three-foot-long, half-inch-thick bamboo cane.

The muscled executors, we're told, keep their strokes honed to a punishing edge with a regime of daily workouts. The trick of their dismal craft is to swing from the ankles, getting the back into it. Unlike tabloid editors, they're not to get emotionally involved.

Each stroke must slap the exact same spot on the buttocks, spraying more blood, ripping away more flesh, eliciting the most bloodcurdling of screams from even the most hardened of criminals. Should the victim pass out, as most do after the third stroke, he is revived, tended to by an observing physician and returned to the trestle only when he is fully conscious.

Many Americans, polls say, approve of such princely torture. Opinion makers and pundits have recoiled at this, expressing shock

and charging barbarism. In their heart of hearts, they must know that corporal punishment behind bars in US prisons - though not court approved - scars just as permanently and is far more brutal and sometimes fatal.

Singapore caning is upfront, imposed by a judge, witnessed by a physician and strictly regulated. Torture in US prisons - while officially denied - subjects inmates to the baton, helter skelter. The flimsiest excuse might bring on a cruel batoning by sadistic guards or inmates empowered to do the job. Prison literature and letters are rich with tales of batoning by guards. Inmates like Larry Davis, who as a drug dealer shot two cops, are beaten nearly to death while some inmates have not been so lucky.

Despite 14th Amendment protection guaranteeing freedom from harm while in official custody, corporal punishment in US prison has long been rampant, as has been widely reported by prisoners. Instead of a cane, the weapon of choice is a truncheon with a 90-degree handle for increased leverage, variously referred to as a "peacemaker" or a "nigger stick".

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Welfare to Business More than Welfare to People

Consumer activist Ralph Nader has charged that the federal government spends billions of dollars more on tax breaks and other payments to corporations than it does in welfare for the poor.

Based on an analysis of the federal budget for 1994, the value to corporations of federal tax benefits and direct payments was placed at \$104.3 billion, while spending for social welfare programs was estimated at \$75.1 billion.

"Aid to dependent corporations is alive and well," Nader said.

One of the largest federal payments was \$18.3 billion in 1994 to pay for the bailout of failed savings and loan associations. Another \$29.2 billion went for payments and obligations for agriculture and commodity purchases and \$53.3 billion in tax breaks for various industries.

The study excluded federal loans to corporations, loan guarantees, interest subsidies to banks for student loans, government research and development of pharmaceuticals sold by private companies.

More US Blacks Favor Going a Separate Way

by James L. Tyson

Editor's note: Reprinted from *The Christian Science Monitor*

In a significant trend for race relations, Black Americans are increasingly embracing Black nationalism and abandoning the hope of ever achieving racial equality in the United States, according to a nationwide survey.

Of particular note, middle-class Blacks - traditionally the driving force behind integration - are increasingly favoring an agenda for Black separatism, according to the University of Chicago poll. "The discontent we saw in the mid and late 1980s that was concentrated among poor African Americans has spread among African Americans of all social backgrounds," says Michael Dawson, a University of Chicago political science professor and the author of a report on the survey.

Some 56 percent of Black Americans also say that Blacks should participate in black-only organizations and half said Blacks should form their own political party - a jump from just 24 percent in 1988, according to Dr. Dawson.

Sixty-five percent of Black Americans also say that in their lifetime they will never have the same opportunities as white citizens. The survey was based on 45 minute telephone interview with 1,206



Black Americans randomly selected across the US.

It is unclear whether these Black Americans will express their growing discontent by significantly spurning voting booths or by actually forming Black political parties. Only 14 percent want Black people to have their own separate nation.

"Many Black, middle-class people feel that their own concerns have been pushed to the back burner in terms of equality and civil rights issues," according to Elijah Anderson, a sociology professor at

the University of Pennsylvania.

"The fact that a lot of people want to send white society a message really speaks to the frustration and the growing despair within the Black community," he says.

The survey suggests that candidates for Congress in November, and in the 1996 presidential ballot, will have to work harder than in many years to rally Black voters. "If the candidates don't go out and really speak to the concerns of Black people, you'll see more and more voter apathy," Dr

Anderson says.

Democrats must heed Black discontent or risk losing a bloc a party faithful that has frequently provided a crucial swing vote, the analysts say.

"Blacks will stop going to the polls and mindlessly supporting candidates simply because they're Democratic Party candidates", says Eugene Pincham, a community activist in Chicago and a retired Illinois Appellate Court justice.

The survey also helps explain a recent shift in the strategies of Black leaders.

In the past several months, centrist Black leaders have given Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, and other ultra-nationalists.

Also, Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has steered the civil rights organization toward what is deemed a more nationalist agenda than before - shaping programs more according to the identity and concrete interests of Blacks than according to universal ideas like racial harmony, for example.

Despite the opposition of some directors at the NAACP, Dr. Chavis has downplayed the organization's traditional efforts at integration and

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Dare To Struggle



Clinton & Nixon

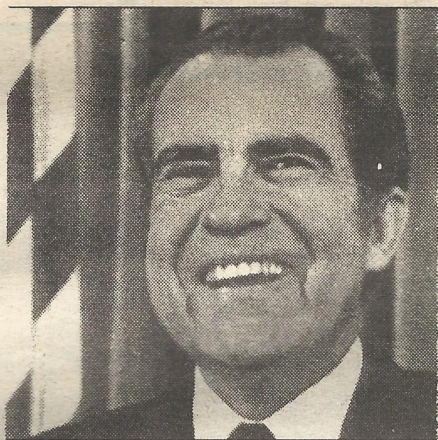
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laws, Black so-called "citizens" of the United States were voluntarily acquiescing to one of their own.

The death of former President Richard Nixon has provided an unexpected opportunity to those moving to institute fascism to give a revisionist retrospective on his life. President Clinton went beyond the bounds of normal protocol, given who Nixon was, to extol him as a great president and great American. He then proceeded to declare the day of his funeral as a national holiday for federal employees. Who was Nixon and what is the significance of supposedly liberal, democratic Clinton resurrecting him as a figure to be revered? A few years ago, Judge John Sirica, the presiding judge in the Watergate trials, was passing the White House one night when he was told that Nixon was at a reception. His response was that Nixon should be in jail, not in the White House. And he was right. Nixon was a crook. His criminality transcended US domestic law, assuming international dimensions. His transgressions included war crimes committed by the US in Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia. Nixon came into office on the promise of ending the war in Southeast Asia, but all along knew that he would captain the imperialist ship's attempt to wrest control of the land from the Vietnamese and to overthrow the Socialist government of the North. To carry out his plan, Nixon ordered the secret bombing of Cambodia as well as the infamous Christmas bombing of Hanoi which included hospitals as targets.

We cannot succumb to the illusion that the government, which is responsible for our lack of safety, can now resolve our situation...

Domestically, for Black folks, more significant than the Watergate coverup was Nixon's role during COINTELPRO's (Counter-Intelligence Program) heyday of illegal infiltration, disruption and assassination of those struggling for democracy, civil and human rights. It was Richard Nixon who turned the federal grand jury from an instrument to curb prosecutorial excess into a tool for prosecutorial abuse. Under him the grand jury became a vehicle for active government-sponsored gathering of political intelligence and a club to punish those who refused to collaborate. Many of us may remember the political cases of the 1980s - the Brinks trials, the New York 8, the Ohio 7, the Puerto Rican Independentista prosecutions.... Few, however, recall that many comrades went to jail under civil contempt rather than collaborate with an organ of



government repression, such as the grand jury.

To resurrect a Nixon, whose fascist sins are implicitly forgiven because they go unmentioned, sets the historical basis and framework that allows a Clinton to advocate that constitutional rights be suspended in supposed interests of community safety...

We cannot succumb to the illusion that the Government which is responsible for our lack of safety can now resolve our situation. In particular we cannot be accomplices in the destruction of those rights for which people died and which provide some minimal protection in the struggle for our liberation.

North Korea

cont. from page 4

February 1993 when the inspections required by the Safeguards Agreement were suspended... [Emphasis Ed.]

In the final analysis, the IAEA Secretariat has proved by itself that it could not deny the DPRK's unique status in relations to the Safeguards Agreement but accepted and tolerated its unique status and, on this basis, has performed its inspection activities.

Despite these facts, the United States and the Agency Secretariat are still talking about the "non-compliance with the Safeguards Agreement" and "full inspection," stressing that the DPRK should yet fully live up to its obligations under the Safeguards Agreement.

Such action clearly shows that they are using the leverage of what is the Safeguards Agreement for attaining their dishonest political objectives strangling the DPRK's political system. [Our emphasis. Ed.]

...The persistency with which the US and the IAEA have called for the DPRK's full implementation of the Safeguards Agreement is based on their intention to categorically negate the legality of the DPRK's current unique status and to justify their machinations of strangling the DPRK...

But the elimination of the nuclear threat by a depositary of the Treaty against the DPRK [one of the conditions upon which the DPRK agreed to the Safeguards Agreement. Ed.] ... remains yet to be achieved, and the United States, one of the depositaries, is on the contrary further increasing its nuclear threat

against the DPRK particularly by openly disclosing its intention to resume the "Team Spirit '94" joint military exercises, a nuclear test war targeting the DPRK, and massing up its armed forces on and around the Korean peninsula. Such actions on the part of the United States destroyed the legal basis of the DPRK's approval of the Safeguards Agreement and create circumstances that prevent the DPRK from implementing the Safeguards Agreement...

The IAEA Secretariat has fundamentally breached the Safeguards Agreement when it artificially fabricated the so-called "inconsistencies" and, on the basis of the intelligence information forged by the US, triggered an Agency "resolution" calling for "special inspection" aimed at opening up the "two military sites" of the DPRK, another party to the Safeguards Agreement. Therefore, it follows, as a matter of course that the DPRK, as another party to the Agreement, is entitled to the legitimate rights to suspend the effect of this Agreement in whole or in part...

... [T]he DPRK Government has provided its sincere cooperation to the IAEA inspection activities needed for the continuity of safeguards at its nuclear facilities, as an expression of its goodwill to demonstrate the transparency [openness. Ed.] of the DPRK's peaceful nuclear activities. [The memo then lists a series of steps that demonstrate cooperation. Ed.]

Any inspections under the Safeguard Agreement will never be allowed, as long as the current situation continues with the DPRK's unique status based on its temporary suspension of the effectuation of the declared withdrawal from the NPT.

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Staten Island residents protest killing.

Police Overkill

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to Staten Island proved clearly pervasive. Some in the community complained they were also invasive. To independent observers, one thing was certain: People noticed that the police were there.

"We want to be out here showing blue. And we are doing that by responding to everything that happens with a large number of officers," said Lt. Thomas Graham, the department's coordinator for response to disturbances and disorders.

During the day, police charged up a small hill to break up a group of rock and bottle-tossing protesters. Then they used mobile units in vans to follow the demonstrators as they splintered into small groups. Police also stormed through the front doors of a project building after a report of shots fired. These officers, armored in riot gear and brandishing shotguns, moved through the doors in formation. They were backed up by a small army of cops in the parking lot, part of the response that turned up a .22 caliber pistol in a pile of trash but no arrests.



Victim Ernest Sayon, 22 years old

"It's tough being a Black man in America," said a man in his 20s who was frisked after police found the gun near where he was walking.

Graham said the officers were to remain in the neighborhood for a few days. If Saturday night was any indication, the residents will continue to take notice. Which is exactly what the police want.

Profit Margin

cont. from page 5

check cashing facilities, which are backed by these same banks. The check cashing places charge for cashing checks and give no services, which means more profits. In New York, some branches will not honor municipal payroll checks drawn at another branch of the same bank. A worker located in the Jamaica office of a city agency will not be able to cash his payroll check drawn on the downtown Manhattan branch of Chase Manhattan unless he has an account there. Is the bank suggesting that the money for the payroll is not there and the check is no good? Workers are then forced to either open an account there, deposit their payroll check in their account at another bank (if they have one), or most likely, go to a check cashing place and pay the fee. The banks have made it more difficult for small savings and accounts to even exist by raising the fees and minimum accounts needed.

From the west coast to the east coast all the Black community should take its money out of all the banks and demand cash on pay day from all employers. Afterwards let's see how long the banking industry survives without our money. Because as we all know that without our money the banks will not make a profit.

Farmers Market Attacked

cont. from page 5

people came to protest and voice their opposition to the attack on Black economic self-determination. They vowed to participate in maintaining the market.

On Saturday, May 14, 1994, there will be an emergency rally to defend the Market at Macon and Nostrand Avenue in Brooklyn at 8:00 am. The African People's Farmers Market has stood as a symbol of self-reliance and self-determination; it must be supported.

FACT SHEET

The Market was founded Black Solidarity Weekend 1988 as a community demanded alternative to two Korean fruit and vegetables stores that had been forced to close. A Black woman shopping in the L & M Grocery store on Fulton Street off Nostrand Avenue had been assaulted. The assailant ran into the other store on Nostrand off Fulton. The people demanded that the employee responsible be arrested, but the police as usual did nothing. After a three month boycott starting in August 1988, the stores closed down under pressure from the community. The African Peoples Farmers Market was born as an alternative and has stayed open every Saturday since, in rain, snow, sun and wind, as a living witness that Black people can stick together and in so doing, provide for our basic needs, food, clothing and shelter.

Every Saturday the corner of Macon and Nostrand is cleaned. During the week it is used as a dumping site and is quite filthy. Several health fairs have been held at the Market, in conjunction with Bed-Stuy Ambulance Corps and African Americans for Health Determination. Children are encouraged to handle the produce and learn to operate the scale and several unemployed young people

have been trained to operate a produce stand from purchase to close out. All these activities have brought the African People's Farmers Market the respect of the entire community, from the local residents and our loyal customers. The Market was honored with a Community Service award from the Majestic Heights 7th Day Adventist Mission, which has services directly across the street.

The police had been harassing the market for the last three weeks, demanding to see a vendor's permit, (which we have); claiming that the Market blocks the sidewalk (which it doesn't); and that Macon and Nostrand has been declared a no-vending zone by the community board (a lie). The African People's Farmers Market Collective pointed out over the three week period that they had been there over five and a half years, with the approval of the block association and Community Board #3, and that the community had chosen to support African people selling food to African people.

But in 1994 we see the rising attack on the right of African people

to control any part of their community, no matter how small. Just as the vendors on 125th Street are being harassed and threatened, the police started a campaign of harassment, with ever changing complaints.

North Korea Speaks...

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The inspection activities that befit the DPRK's current unique status are only the inspection activities necessary for maintaining the continuity of safeguards ... How long the DPRK's unique status will last depends entirely on when the US renounces its nuclear threat against the DPRK as well as its policy of antagonizing and strangling the DPRK and, at the same time, when the Agency redresses its partiality and injustice to the DPRK. The DPRK's unique status would naturally terminate if further round of DPRK-USA talks take place and the simultaneous action steps are carried into practice with a view to resolving the nuclear issue once and for all on the principle of the proposed package solution...

At present, the IAEA Secretariat and the United Nations Security Council, both in support of the US policy of antagonizing and strangling the DPRK, are openly applying their extremely discriminatory and prejudiced double standards to the DPRK's "nuclear issue..."

The UN Security Council, also under the US behind-the-scenes manipulation, is used as a forum for an unwarranted discussion of the DPRK's "nuclear issue" against the purposes and principles of its Charter.

International law must be applied without any prejudice to all the States, irrespective of the size of their territories or the number of their population. The international organization connives at the US posing nuclear threat against the DPRK and instead brings unilateral pressure to bear upon the victimized DPRK. This is a clear example of application of the double standards.

Some officials of the IAEA Secretariat are unreasonably provoking the DPRK over its peaceful nuclear activities, while conniving at the US-patronized countries developing nuclear weapons...

Some officials of the IAEA Secretariat have conducted more than 100 rounds of inspections in other countries but never made an issue of the telltale nuclear weapons development programme in some of these countries. But, after only six rounds of inspections in the DPRK, they fomented suspicions about alleged "nuclear weapons development" in the DPRK and pushed through a Board of Governors' resolution calling for "special inspection." This is a

graphic illustration of how far their double standards policy has gone against the DPRK. On April 1, 1993, the Editor of the Tanzanian newspaper "Motomoto" said that the UN feigns ignorance of the nuclear development programme in some countries, but on the other hand it "persists in its efforts to fault North Korea's alleged 'nuclear development' and its declared intention to withdraw from the NPT despite its faithful implementation of the NPT obligations because, in a nutshell, that nation is regarded as a cancerous entity hampering the US attempts to establish a new global order..."

None of the provisions in the IAEA Statute and the Safeguards Agreement stipulate usability of a third country's intelligence information to the Agency's inspection activities...

On November 16, 1990, the Japanese "Jiji" News Service disclosed that, in a bid to arouse suspicion about the DPRK's nuclear activities, the UN "adventurously faked up reconnaissance satellite photographs and circulated them among the IAEA Secretariat and the Western countries to peddle around the "suspected nuclear arms development programme" in the DPRK..

A British newspaper "Daily Affairs International," dated April 4, 1994 notes in an article, "that when the US CIA presented photographs from its eye-in-the-sky satellites, the IAEA made a surprise move by pressing North Korea to accept 'special inspection,' in wanton violation of the IAEA Statute providing against the use of information from extraneous sources to the purpose of its inspection activities. This is an example of the double standards applied by the IAEA."

As the DPRK has stated in no uncertain terms the reasons for declaring its decision to withdraw from the NPT, unless the US renounces its policy of hostility and nuclear threat campaign against the DPRK and unless the IAEA Secretariat redresses its partiality and injustice to the DPRK, the DPRK's reinstatement in the Treaty will remain absolutely inconceivable and, therefore, full implementation of the Safeguards Agreement will have no sense of word at the present stage. Inspection limited strictly to maintaining the continuity of safeguards alone is more than what the DPRK can accept in keeping with its unique status based on the temporary suspension of the effectuation of its announced withdrawal from the NPT, and only contingent on progress at the DPRK-USA talks.

The DPRK's unique status was not of its own making intended for its selfish purposes, but it was imposed on the DPRK against its will, by the US and the IAEA Secretariat due to the abnormal situation resulting from their unjust actions...

Recent developments give serious lessons that dialogue and negotiations are the only way to attain an early resolution of the nuclear issue and to achieve detente

and peace and that pressure and "sanctions" are the path of whipping up conflict and confrontation and thus blocking permanently the possibility of resolving the nuclear issue.

If the US and the IAEA Secretariat continue to resort to unreasonable pressure campaigns ignoring such lessons of history, the nuclear issue will remain unresolved indefinitely and it will, in turn, entail irretrievable consequences jeopardizing peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

Fighting Youth of South Africa

cont. from page 6

true liberation. It seeks to destroy inferiority complexes that afflict Blacks as a result of living in a society dominated by white racist power structures.

Black Consciousness is in essence the realization by Blacks of the need to rally together, as a group, around the cause of their struggle to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate that Blacks are intensifying their own oppression by trying to run away from themselves and emulating whites. Inherent in it, is the concept of Black solidarity, the power that Blacks wield as a group and their ability to shape their own destiny....

Indeed the BCM managed to loosen the grip of fear that the white racist power structure had on Blacks and infused confidence and vibrant political militancy among the oppressed. It mobilized thousands of Blacks, especially the youth, into 17 Black Consciousness organizations that catered for students in high schools, universities, other youth, workers, women, professionals, writers, religious groups and so on. It is that mobilization that made the 1976 Soweto uprisings possible, which in turn laid the foundation for subsequent struggles. The response of the regime was to harass, arrest, torture and kill many of its members and leaders such as Mthuli Shezi, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mapetla Mohapi and of course Biko himself. But a legion of a new generation of political activists was produced which swelled the ranks of the older exiled leadership of all components of the liberation movement are products of the BCM.

Regrettably, in the last decade or so, we have allowed the vigorous teaching of Black Consciousness to slip. The result is the depressing condition of Blacks we witness today in Azania. Only people with an extremely high level of self-hatred will murder one another by the thousands for dubious causes such as the control of squatter camps, other kinds of ghettos and barren villages whilst the oppressor looks on. We are content to leave alone whites with their posh suburbs, mines, farms and industries. It is as if our loftiest aspiration is only to preside over shacks and their impoverished inhabitants.

Maroons Field Training Manual

cont. from page 9

1. Keep fit - physically, mentally, emotionally, politically and spiritually.
2. Be deceptive - never give away to your enemy your intentions.
3. Develop a killer instinct - learn to finish off your enemy.
4. Keep calm - cool - relaxed - learn to control body tension.
5. Look confident - never exhibit fear to your enemy.
6. Keep it simple - make every attack simple and direct.
7. During combat, think of nothing - think neither of winning or losing, just do it.
8. Focus on the enemy - never take your eyes or your mind off of the enemy.
9. Train in versatility - be good with both hands and feet, left and right.
10. Be explosive - exercise total commitment to Freedom or Death in every attack and counterattack.

The Maroons Are Coming Freedom or Death

Somalian Lessons

cont. from page 11



avoid bloodshed which I thought was unnecessary. Instead, I developed a new and different strategy based on building a new coalition and establishing peace throughout the country. I was not interested in fighting to capture the strategic parts of the capital such as the radio, the airport, the seaport and all the banks, which were in the hands of the so-called interim government.

The Manifesto Group had the support of Egyptians and Italians who provided it with financial assistance and diplomatic support, so much so that in November 1991 Ali Mahdi was bold enough as to order his militia to destroy my headquarters, extinguish our movement and put us out of the memory of the people. We repulsed these attacks and instead captured most of Mogadishu...

After driving Siad Barre out of the country, I put my temporary headquarters in Bardera... the area most affected by the famine of 1992. My purpose of staying in the area was to publicize and draw international attention to the plight of the area. It was also to create confidence in all the people that the enemy had been defeated and all [was] peaceful. We have been very successful in this endeavor for

international media arrived in droves and the news of the problem reached all over the world. Many foreign dignitaries visited with me in Bardera including officials from Uganda, Senegal, the United States, Ireland, Italy, France, Germany and the United Nations. United Nations agencies, the Red Cross and the international NGOs [non-governmental organizations] set up feeding centers throughout the region. Dry food also came from [the] United States, Germany, France and Canada. But in April and December 1992, the conditions of the people improved considerably; starvation was almost eliminated, people returned to their homes and commercial activities resumed to almost normal levels.

During this period, the Somali National Alliance, (SNA) was formed out of four movements: United Somali Congress (USC); Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM); Somali Democratic Movement (SDM); and Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM). I was elected as chairman of the alliance. Another movement, the Somali Peace Loving Union (PSLU) has joined the alliance since then and the SNA is the largest political coalition with popular support in eleven of the eighteen regions of Somalia.

In September 1993, however, US warships arrived near Mogadishu with intention, we throughout, of landing Marines in Somalia. We protested publicly and privately to US officials and the ships left without incident. But in December of the same year, US troops with other multinational forces under the umbrella of the United Nations arrived in Somalia. We did not protest against this invasion because some of the food supplies were being looted and we had no means of controlling the bandits doing that. So, considering the interests of the people, we thought this military presence would help the food supplies reach the needy. We even handed our heavy weapons to this United Task Force (UNITAF), led by the United States, believing that UNITAF was to help us not only feed our people but also help us with establishing peace in the country.

On January 15, 1993, all Somali factions met in Addis Ababa with the UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali for purposes of agreeing to set a date, venue and agenda for a national reconciliation conference. In addition, the SNA proposed a ceasefire throughout Somalia and total disarmament, proposals which were accepted by the factions.

The agreement on disarmament stipulated the following: One, all militia under the control of the factions would be encamped and their weapons be collected by a joint committee of UNITAF, UNOSOM and representatives of the factions. The responsibility of the upkeep of the militia was to be assumed by UNITAF and UNOSOM. Two, anyone who would not come voluntarily to the camps and used the weapons in the streets would be declared a bandit and be disarmed forcefully by the UNITAF, UNOSOM and the factions. Three,

arms retained by the general public would be bought by UNOSOM/UNITAF with money or food, thereby disarming the whole country and making the country peaceful. However, UNITAF/UNOSOM refused to participate in the program of disarmament, and so the program failed....

The regional peace agreement was signed on June 4, 1993 and on the following day UNOSOM attacked and seized Radio Mogadishu which was broadcasting the resolutions of the conference and the terms of the agreement. The public demonstrated against this seizure of the radio station and troops opened fire on the crowd which resulted in the death of 24 Pakistani soldiers and 75 Somalis.

On June 6, barely 24 hours from this incident, the Security Council of the UNO adopted a resolution (Resolution 837) condemning us and setting in motion the war by the US and UN forces against Somalia for the next five months. This war which claimed lives of over 13,000 Somalis and maimed three times that number, also destroyed public and private properties valued at over 1 billion US dollars. Though conducted under the guise of a humanitarian intervention, this war used contemptuous and derogatory terms like "reconstituting a failed state," "creating a secure environment," and "marginalization of warlords."...

Lessons from the War:

From the beginning and throughout the whole war, it was clear to us that this was a new attempt to colonize Somalia and create a puppet government for Somalia. Somalia was to be experimental area for establishing a "New World Order" being promoted by the USA after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war. The USA has strong ambitions to use the UN as a tool for expanding its influence all over the world. So Somalia was viewed as a perfect case for experimenting the new theory of the "world order." Africans ought to feel warned about this potential threat and grand design by the US and UN policy makers. Had the US invasion of Somalia been successful, the occupation forces would have spread out to other African countries in the pretext of humanitarian intervention.

After having withdrawn from Somalia, the Americans are busy asking themselves: "What have we learnt from the Somalia experiences?" But we Africans should ask ourselves similar questions but from [an] African perspective and draw our own conclusions. The moment calls upon all of us to be vigilant Pan Africanists and oppose the "new world order". We must demand and compel the UN to keep its traditional role of impartiality, rather than taking on a new one of serving the interests of one power....

It has been generally agreed that the UN and USA have violated the human rights of the Somali people and created more problems for Somalis than they helped to solve.

They killed civilians, including women and children, destroyed properties and kidnapped and detained political leaders without due process of law.

Boutros Ghali and Egypt are in cahoots to meddle in the political affairs of Somalia and determine who will lead Somalia.... Boutros Ghali first meddled in Somali affairs when he was still a minister in the Egyptian government, and now he continues the same policy as Secretary General of the UN....

Our Demands

The Somali people, having been offended and brutalized are now demanding for redress and compensation for the damage and injury done to them. This demand is being heard with a great deal of receptivity in many quarters of the world, as can be testified by the contents of a report submitted to the Security Council by the UN Commission of Inquiry on Somalia headed by former chief justice of Zambia. No claim of diplomatic immunity by the UN and others should stand in the way of this legitimate demand. We hope that the Pan Africanists here and elsewhere will support the demands of their brothers and sisters who have been wrongly abused...

All these arrangements will not wither or dilute the state sovereignty and independence but they will be enhanced so let's do something for Africa and let's do it in the memory of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Steve Biko, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah. Let's do it for the millions of Africans around the world, let's do it for the Somalis who died last year in defence of our liberty and let's do it above all for the next generations of Africans....

Caning & Batoning

cont. from page 14

Singapore torture is played under Marquess of Queensberry-like rules, while in US prisons it's a free-for-all with a gang of burly thugs raining blows from all directions with no referee and no clock. While the Singapore executor must restrict his lashes to the gluteus maximus, US guards favor the head and the groin, with no inch of the body off limits.

The public got a rare glimpse of batoning when Los Angeles cops, with all the skills of prison guards, worked over Rodney King. Some 56 baton blows thundered upon King who had no attending physician or court appearance. His crime: speeding.

There was public outcry, sure enough, as there might be if Singapore caning were done publicly. However, nothing thawed the hearts of the Simi Valley jury enough to convict the white torturers. Even in the civil-rights case, where two cops drew light sentences, Federal Judge John G. Davies ruled that the first 50 of the baton blows King endured were "legal and proper."

Letters To The Editor

View From the Field...

Malcolm X in his classical presentation of class struggle within the Black Nation, characterizes his status as a "Field Negro," a part of the masses of Black people whose relationship to the slavemaster was the sting of the lash.

It is this viewpoint and support ATM welcomes and encourages. From you in the racist schools to the penal colonies, from the barracks of American mercenary troops to the death houses called hospitals.

From the wretched of the Earth...

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JUNE 18, 1994

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May 2, 1994

Greetings in the name of Aluta Continua!

First of all, I would like to say to all the sisters and brothers at ATM please do pardon my impatience in waiting for my subscription. However, due to the long wait I began to suspect that maybe my order had gotten lost or that these people were up to their old tricks... Nonetheless, may I say that when I did receive my two issues (which I enjoyed) I was very much relieved and thankful for its arrival - so give thanks - more time.

Secondly, you must excuse me for the amount of monies sent, I mistakenly presumed that \$12.00 would have covered the cost for two subscriptions, one for myself and the other for my sistern. Therefore, at this moment I would like to pay for another subscription but this time it is specifically for my sistren. At the end of this letter I will give her name and address for her subscription to be mailed directly to her.

At this time I would also like to take the opportunity to thank your staff for printing my letter in the Feb/March edition, which I never expected. However, may I add, your publication mistakenly misprinted one of my comrades' names mentioned in the letter. The brother's correct name is JAH instead of JOB, who is formerly known as Teddy Heath. Still, I greatly appreciated the fact that your publication printed the letter any way. So now, I would once again like to thank your publication for the subscription and your continual concern and coverage of our people's struggle....

April 1, 1994

Greetings Arm the Masses.

We, the following Political Prisoners/Prisoners of War at USP-Leavenworth, KS, wholeheartedly endorse and support the building of the Front for the Liberation of New Afrikan Nation. (FROLINAN).

Sundiata Acoli - BLA POW
Abdul Aziz - V.I. Five (5) POW
Jaan Laaman - Ohio 7 Political Prisoner
Leonard Peltier - A.I.M.
Fawaz Yunis - Shiite Muslim
Ronald Del Raine - politically conscious convict
An Lo Chang - Taiwan PP

Greetings ATM,

Thanks much for the great support you all gave me in my parole effort. i'm doing well and am in strong spirits despite the 20-year hit by the NJ Parole Board, and i hope this finds you all doing well likewise. Please change my ATM mailing address to: Sundiata Acoli #39794-066 (Squire) PO Box 3000, USP Allenwood, Unit 3, White Deer, PA 17887...

More Blacks Want Out

cont. from page 14

sought to help the urban poor combat such concerns as crime and drug abuse.

The survey "is really quite provocative because it speaks of a turnaround in the thinking form integration to a kind of resignation with the status quo," says Anderson, who is also author of a 1999 book, "Street Wise."

A rise of Black nationalism is being fueled by a mix of four trends, as in four other periods in US history since the 1850's, says Manning Marable, professor of history and political science at Columbia University.

First, the gap in material well-being between Blacks and whites has widened. Between 1988 and 1992, the median income for Black households fell by 4 percent compared to a 3 percent drop mean income for white household, according to the Census Bureau.

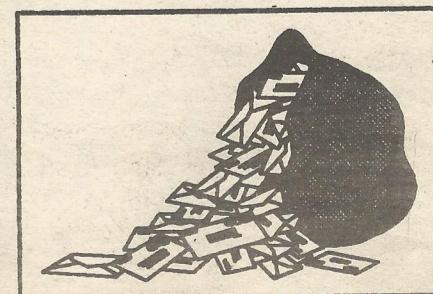
Second, the nation's two major political parties have failed to provide a significant agenda for advancing equality. President Clinton has not aggressively sought a clear plan for aiding the urban poor, says Dr. Marable, an adviser to the Congressional Black Caucus, and other political analysts.

Third, Black middle-class groups have not effectively led the Black community because of frequent disputes over ideology and strategy.

Finally, the Black population itself has undergone significant demographic changes. The percentage of Black families earning more than \$50,000 increased from 10 percent to 14 percent of the Black population between 1970 and 1990, while the percentage of Black families earning less than \$10,000 rose from 21 percent to 26 percent of the Black population during the same period.

"When all four of these conditions occur, you will get a rise of Black separatism," says Marable, director of Columbia's Institute for Research in African American Studies.

Such a reaction is not new. Similar surges also occurred in the 1850s, 1880s, 1920s, and 1960s, he says.

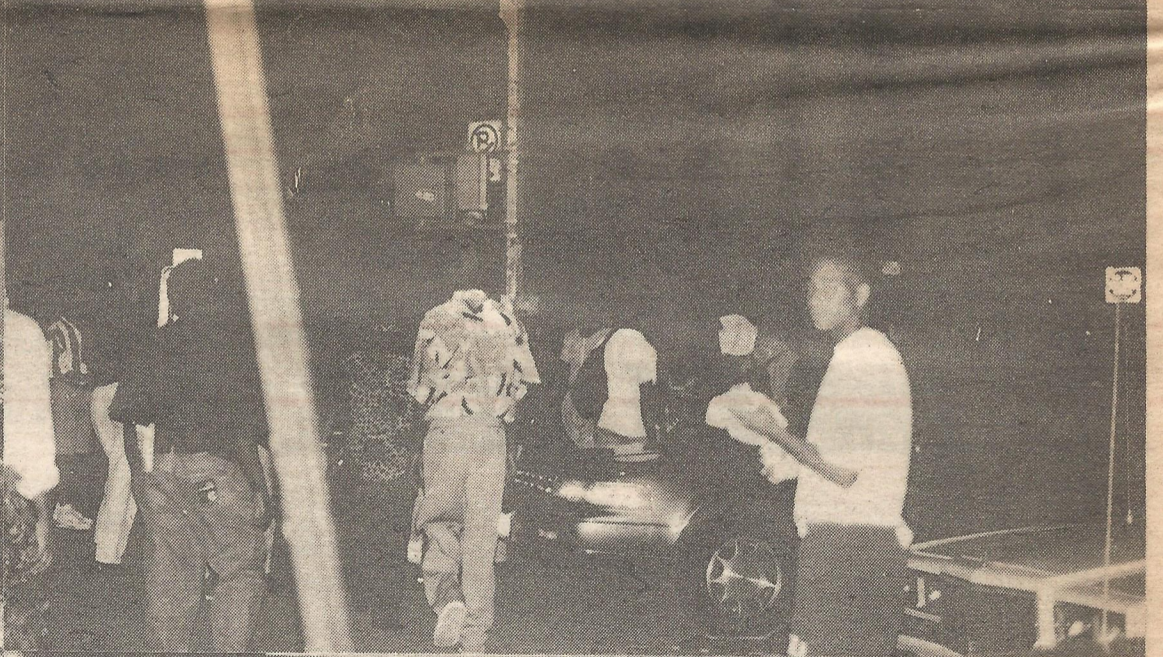


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